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WOMEN'S BUREAU

MARY ANDERSON, Director



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BULLETIN OF THE WOMEN'S BUREAU, No. 45

**HOME ENVIRONMENT AND
EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITIES
OF WOMEN IN COAL-MINE
WORKERS' FAMILIES**

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LETTER OF TRANSMITTAL

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF LABOR,
WOMEN'S BUREAU.

Washington, July 20, 1923.

SIR: There is transmitted herewith a report on home environment and employment opportunities of women in coal-mine workers' families. A great basic industry, such as coal mining, employing hundreds of thousands of men, brings into the coal regions mine-workers' wives, sons, and daughters, who in their turn help support the families. The need and opportunity for profitable employment for the women in the household together with their gainful occupations are questions that we have tried to set forth in this bulletin.

The data used in this report are those collected during the investigations conducted by the Coal Commission in 1922-23 on the living conditions among the mining population. The writing of the report was very much facilitated by the cooperation given by the Coal Commission in allowing us access to their schedules.

MARY ANDERSON, *Director.*

Hon. JAMES J. DAVIS,
Secretary of Labor.

HOME ENVIRONMENT AND EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITIES OF WOMEN IN COAL-MINE WORKERS' FAMILIES

PART I

INTRODUCTION

When a great industry draws hundreds of thousands of workers out of the centers of normal community life, and when these workers in major numbers take with them wives and children, grown sons and grown daughters, the need and opportunity for profitable employment for the women in the household, together with their environment, are questions that may well claim the studious attention of the Women's Bureau of the United States Department of Labor.

Since time undated, wage-earning men have required the help of their women-folk in the business of breadwinning. Before the development of the factory system the help came chiefly through the product of woman labor in the home. Later it has come through the contributory wages of the women who work in factory, mill, and shop, in restaurant and laundry, in store and office, or—when no better opportunity offers—by such breadwinning labors as can still be performed in the home.

That the wage earners in coal mines offer no exception in the matter of the traditional need of breadwinning help from the women of the household is made clear by the reports of the United States Coal Commission.¹ Less than two-thirds of the mine-working fathers, there reported upon, were sole breadwinners,² the other third and more having the help of wives or offspring or both.

The purpose of this study, therefore, is to reveal the employment opportunities or the lack of such and the home environment of the adult women in mine workers' families.

SOURCE AND SCOPE OF MATERIAL

The immediate source of the information presented in this report is the material collected by the Coal Commission in 1922 and 1923 in the course of its investigation into conditions of life and the cost of

¹ U. S. Coal Commission. Report on bituminous-mine workers and their homes; Report on living conditions among anthracite-mine workers. In press.

² The census takes cognizance only of the members of a family living in the same household. "Sole breadwinners," therefore, means that of those living under the same roof the father alone was a wage earner. There may be breadwinning daughters and sons who were not living at home but who still contributed to the family support.

living of coal-mine workers of continental United States. Accordingly, from these data was compiled by the Women's Bureau the statistical material concerning the home environment and the opportunities for gainful employment of the approximately 500,000 women in coal miners' families.

All data concerning the constituency of the mine workers' families—their domicile status and economic organization—were secured originally by the United States Bureau of the Census in the course of its 1920 population enumerations.

The census shows that of the approximately three-fourths million coal-mine workers in continental United States, four-fifths were at work in the bituminous-coal fields which, though scattered all over the country, have their chief producing areas in the States of Pennsylvania, Ohio, Illinois, Indiana, West Virginia, Kentucky, Tennessee, and Alabama. The other one-fifth of the coal-mine workers were employed in the anthracite mines which lie in half a dozen compactly located counties of Pennsylvania. The Coal Commission tabulated the material on the constituency of the families for all mine workers in the anthracite region and for approximately 90 per cent of the workers in bituminous-coal regions. The mine workers included in the Coal Commission's tabulation were in the bituminous regions in Pennsylvania, West Virginia, Illinois, Ohio, Kentucky, Indiana, Iowa, Alabama, Tennessee, Virginia, Missouri, Oklahoma, Maryland, Michigan, and certain Western States; and in the anthracite region of Pennsylvania. Those omitted were chiefly some of the mine workers in Alabama and others scattered through several of the Western States.

From the tabulation sheets of the Coal Commission drawn up from the census data, the information essential to the picture of home duties of the miners' wives was compiled by the Women's Bureau.

In addition to the data compiled from the census there was available certain information gathered at first hand by the Coal Commission. Fifteen hundred and seventy-eight mine workers' families were visited personally by the Coal Commission's agents in the course of its cost-of-living study. From each of the families living in the bituminous fields the income and expenditures of the family for the year 1922 were secured, and such figures were checked, as far as possible, by means of the mine companies' records of earnings and of payments for rent, coal, light, food, and sundries, doctors' services, and so on, made during the year. In the anthracite field the family schedules were taken for the six months ending April 1, 1924.

In selecting the families to be scheduled, the greatest care was exercised by the commission in order that a representative group should be obtained. In the anthracite field the estimated number of

schedules that could be secured in the allotted time was divided among the three anthracite districts and each district's quota subdivided according to the number of mine workers living in cities of various size. The files of the Bureau of the Census were consulted to ascertain the wards in which mine employees lived in cities having a population of 2,500 and over. A proportionate number of names and addresses for each ward and city was then secured, such names and addresses being divided as three to one between miners and other skilled employees and unskilled mine laborers. In the bituminous regions, mine settlements representative of the varying communities in a mining district were chosen for family schedules after agents had studied housing conditions in such districts. The fluctuation of population in the bituminous fields during 1922 made it difficult to locate families in 1923 whose earnings and expenditures could be checked against a single mine company pay roll for a whole year. While the material on income and cost of living has not been used in this report the foregoing description has been given to make clear the fact that the schedules from the bituminous fields, like those from the anthracite, represent the more stable part of the mining population. From the schedules thus collected the Women's Bureau compiled material concerning the number of daughters in these families, the number of wives and daughters at work, the kinds of work in which they were engaged, and the amount of their contribution to the family income during the year or half-year under consideration.

Information concerning living conditions as affected by community environment in the bituminous and anthracite fields was secured on a detailed schedule by the Coal Commission's agents who made personal visits to 1,094 communities in which about 350,000 mine workers lived; 811 of these communities were controlled by mine companies and 283 were independent mining towns. From the unpublished material thus gathered the Women's Bureau has extracted facts which concern especially the women of the miners' households.

STATISTICAL SUMMARY

I. Maintenance of homes.

1. Of the more than 700,000 coal-mine workers in the United States in 1920, four-fifths of whom were in the bituminous regions and one-fifth in the anthracite section, somewhat over one-half were maintaining normal homes; as might be expected four-fifths of these homes were in the bituminous regions.

2. About 97 per cent of the married women living in mining regions were maintaining homes.

II. Number of wives and daughters in mine workers' families.

In the coal miners' families there were, according to estimate, approximately half a million (484,186) wives and daughters 15 years of age and over, 374,582 of these being in the bituminous regions and 109,604 in the anthracite region.

III. Wives and daughters gainfully employed.

1. Of the 376,550 wives, 67,467, or about 18 per cent, were gainfully occupied, the corresponding proportion for the bituminous regions alone being about the same, but the proportion for the anthracite section being a little larger, or about 21 per cent.

2. The main occupation of these employed wives was the job of taking boarders and lodgers. Day work outside the home (laundry and cleaning) was only a secondary opportunity of employment for women with home cares.

3. Of all the States concerned, West Virginia showed the highest proportion of wives gainfully occupied, a little over one-fifth, and Maryland the smallest, one-tenth.

4. An analysis of the figures according to race and nativity discloses that among the wives of the negro, Italian, Russian, Hungarian, and Yugoslavic mine workers, more than one-fourth of each group were gainfully employed, but only an eighth of the wives of the native-born and of the German mine workers were so occupied.

5. Of the 107,636 daughters 15 years of age and over, 35,106, or 32.6 per cent, were gainfully employed.

6. The 1,578 family schedules taken by the Coal Commission in 1922 and 1923 reveal that approximately 14 per cent of the wives in these families and 41.5 per cent of the daughters were gainfully occupied.

7. It is obvious from the data on these 1,578 family schedules that lack of employment facilities for young women in many bituminous fields forces a large number away from home; only 23 per cent of the daughters 15 years of age and over, still members of the home circle in the bituminous fields, were at work as compared with about 56 per cent in the anthracite region.

8. Of all the gainfully occupied daughters in 1,578 families, 84 per cent were employed outside their own or other private home, a little less than two-thirds in the bituminous regions being so engaged as against nine-tenths in the anthracite field. Also a little over nine-tenths of the girls gainfully employed in the latter region were at work in factories, offices, or stores, as compared with a little over two-thirds in the bituminous regions; but only about 9 per cent in the anthracite group were engaged in domestic and personal service as contrasted with almost one-third in the bituminous.

ment of women forced to become wage earners to support themselves or to aid in the maintenance of a family. Women are naturally an important factor in an industry like coal mining which of necessity is carried on in many instances in isolated localities. The presence of the family is essential for keeping the mine workers in these regions, and the help of the wives in maintaining normal homes means greater efficiency on the part of the mine workers themselves. Moreover, in mining communities many women are a more direct economic factor in the support of the home and the family, serving in the capacity of actual breadwinners in addition to the rôle of homemakers. There were approximately half a million wives and daughters 15 years of age and over in the mining regions investigated, and more than a fifth of these were gainfully employed within or outside the home.

Because of the location of the coal mines, women in these communities who are forced to become breadwinners are faced in so many cases with extremely limited opportunities of employment. Three-fourths of the bituminous-mine workers were living in places classed by the census as rural—that is, sufficiently remote from towns and cities as to cut off gainful occupation in many of the important avenues open to women. On the other hand, less than a third of the anthracite-mine workers lived in places classed as rural, and the women in this group had more extensive and varied opportunities for employment.

Consequently, it is not surprising to discover that the census shows a much larger proportion of the women in the anthracite region who were gainfully employed (31.1 per cent) than in the bituminous regions (18.3 per cent). Among adult daughters alone the difference in the proportions in gainful occupations was much greater. The large majority of the gainfully employed daughters in the anthracite region were in manufacturing establishments—chiefly in silk and other textile mills—and in commercial pursuits. The employed daughters in the bituminous mine workers' families still living at home were at work chiefly as salesgirls and domestic servants, a few finding employment as school-teachers and operators in small factories.

The limited opportunities for employment for young women in the bituminous regions are responsible for the departure of many daughters in need of gainful occupation from the mining regions to other places more profitable from the point of view of available jobs, and make for an earlier breaking up of the family circle than would be the case in a more normal community or as is the case in the anthracite region. Daughters who have left home for such purposes are economically "adrift" and are less likely to contribute to the family income, despite the need of their contributions, than if they had continued under the family roof.

If industries desiring woman labor would establish themselves in the immediate vicinity of the mining communities, in imitation of the silk mills which moved into coal-mining regions of Pennsylvania several decades ago, this arrangement might aid in the opening up of employment opportunities for women in these segregated communities. The married women in mine workers' families, because of confining home and family duties, are naturally more limited than are the daughters in regard to opportunities for gainful employment, even though the need for such may be very urgent. The study of the Coal Commission revealed that the overwhelming majority of the breadwinning wives were supplementing the family income chiefly by taking boarders or lodgers.

In connection with the women gainfully employed as well as with those that are not, the home and community environment and resources constitute another challenging problem related to the industrial situation. As already noted, only the presence of the family can keep the mine worker in the mining region, and his wife therefore assumes an unusual importance in this basic industry. Moreover, the fact that the wife frequently looks after not only her own family but other mine workers boarding or lodging in her home gives her an added importance. The facilities available to mine workers' wives should be of such a type as to enable them to carry on the work of their households as efficiently as possible. The investigation revealed and emphasized the fact that this was generally speaking not the case, but that the home and community resources were too often far below what might be termed American standards. Most of the company-controlled and the independent communities were inadequate in respect to home environment. Apparently insufficient study and attention had been given to the improvement of the general environment in mining communities either by the coal-mine owners or the mine workers themselves. The difficulties of location in a few instances had been overcome, but more frequently had been allowed to dominate.

Especially conspicuous was the lack of adequate water facilities, a deplorable condition in view of the extra amount of washing necessary for cleanliness in connection with the coal-mining industry. Such lack meant much inconvenience and additional labor for the women. In comparatively few of the dwellings in either the company-owned or the independent bituminous communities was running water found in the houses, and bathtubs or shower baths were even less frequent. The situation in the anthracite field was different because of the proximity of so many of the dwellings to towns and cities with public water systems. Running water was reported in the majority of these houses, but this meant usually one faucet in the house, and the prevailing rates for additional faucets were so high as

to penalize in an illogical and unnecessary way the use of labor-saving devices. Bathtubs and shower baths were also rare. The fact that a few families in company-owned and independent communities in anthracite and bituminous regions had hot and cold water and bathtubs or showers is important not because it minimizes the seriousness of the inconveniences in the majority of the mine workers' homes, but because it shows that adequate water facilities are not an impracticable adjunct in coal-mining regions.

Emphasis also must be laid on the general backwardness in the bituminous regions in regard to satisfactory toilet arrangements, surface privies, a generally acknowledged menace to health, being commonly found. The anthracite region showed a slight superiority in this respect, especially as sanitary sewerage systems were more prevalent.

Lighting facilities were fairly good in both the bituminous regions and the anthracite section, since gas and electric lights were reported in the majority of the dwellings, and electric street lights in most of the communities.

There was much criticism of the general upkeep of the houses and communities, both the mine operators and the mine workers being apparently responsible for the dilapidation and unattractiveness reported. It is true that many of the bad conditions result from the industry and are difficult to eliminate entirely, but it must be remembered that such things exert a depressing influence on the women in the coal-mining regions.

One great reason for the indifference of the mine workers toward the improvement of their environment is the feeling of insecure home tenure, due to living in company-owned houses. Even though rent, light, heat, and so on may be cheaper under such circumstances, there is always the thought that loss of a job may automatically mean loss of a home. This fear makes for a certain rootless quality of living among mine workers' families in company-controlled communities. Independent communities have their drawbacks, too, since shortage of housing facilities with resulting abnormal rentals, speculative transfers, and uncertainty of tenure complicates the situation.

In the matter of community resources, naturally the mining fields located within easy reach of independent towns and cities have not the same problem in regard to facilities for amusement and recreation as have the isolated communities. An outstanding fact revealed by the investigation, however, was that the great majority of the mine workers' wives and daughters were living in regions strikingly devoid of facilities which are necessary in the recreation and improvement for women—public parks, reading rooms, libraries, rest rooms, and girls' clubs.

Such are the principal factors entering into the lives of the half million women—including the 100,000 gainfully employed women—in the families of the coal-mine workers of the United States. In view of the importance of the extraction of coal to all other industries and to the Nation's homes, in view of the importance of the women to the coal-mining industry, and, finally, in view of the social importance of so large a number of women, the foregoing facts as to employment status, employment opportunities, and home and community environment raise the question as to whether coal-mining companies, coal-mining communities, and the Nation as a whole are returning to these women value received.

Of course there is no information upon which to judge whether the women in coal-miners' families are better or worse off than the women in families of other wage earners similarly situated. Indeed, there is no information concerning the number of women belonging to the families of other great wage-earning groups. But whatever facts may be revealed concerning the gainfully employed women in the households of these other wage-earning groups, they can not alter nor obscure the facts now in the possession of the public concerning the approximately half million women in the families of coal-mine workers.

PART II.

EMPLOYMENT AND HOME CONDITIONS AFFECTING THE WOMEN IN MINE WORKERS' FAMILIES

Well over one-half of the more than 700,000 coal-mine workers in the United States in 1920 were maintaining normal homes³—wives and children present in the mining regions. If only the wives and daughters 15 years of age and over⁴ are considered, there were approximately half a million women in these families. More than a fifth of these half million women were gainfully employed in or out of the home. Nine-tenths of the gainfully employed women in the 1,578 families visited contributed regularly to the family fund, the average monthly contribution in 1922 being \$32.64. Such is the skeleton of facts as to the gainful employment of women belonging to coal-mine workers' families. The skeleton is, however, the supporting structure of a body of facts vitally affecting the welfare of all the women in the coal-mining region, the men in the mines, the mining industry, and—through all of these—the Nation as a whole.

EMPLOYMENT AND EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITIES

To understand the extent and character of the employment opportunities open to women belonging to mine workers' families, and to visualize the home and community environment which bears so directly upon labor stability and efficiency as well as upon the well-being and content of the women themselves, it is essential to take a glancing view of certain demands peculiar to mining operations. Unlike manufacturing industries the mining industry can not choose its location with any reference to labor supply. It must bring its labor wherever the coal seams run, and they run with no regard to the adaptability of a region to community or family life or to the employment needs of women. The seams may, and sometimes do, run in or near populous centers. They sometimes strike through well-developed farming centers. But more often they trail up the sides and over the tops of mountains, pitch into deep ravines and under creek beds, or stretch away into other places remote from, or inaccessible to, normal centers of community life. Where the coal seams go the mine worker must follow, and as the operating companies have found no other way to secure a measure of labor stability

³ The term "normal home" is used in this study to distinguish the usual family—parents, or those standing in the place of parents, and children—from the boarding and lodging house groups of single men that would be included in a census enumeration of households, but are generally excluded from this report.

⁴ For method of computing number of daughters, see page 42 of this report.

the need for providing housing and community facilities for the mine worker's family becomes increasingly imperative as the coal seams run away from urban centers into the isolated places that are included in the census classification of "rural."⁵ Therefore it should be kept in mind that "rural" as applied to mining centers does not signify necessarily an agricultural community. Frequently it means pioneering where mining operations are the sole producing activity and where the mining population—men, women, and children, must depend upon operating companies for all the facilities of family and community life.

As already stated, four-fifths of the approximately three-fourths million coal-mine workers in the country were at work in the bituminous coal fields—the States of Pennsylvania, West Virginia, Illinois, Ohio, Kentucky, Indiana, and Alabama being the chief producing areas—and the other one-fifth of the coal-mine workers were employed in the anthracite mines, which lie in half a dozen compactly located counties of Pennsylvania.

The families of these two great groups of mine workers present sharp contrasts in the location of their homes with reference to normal centers of community life. In 1920, three-fourths of the bituminous-mine workers, taken as a single group, were living in places classed by the Bureau of the Census as rural. Approximately one-half were housed in company-owned dwellings in company-controlled towns—a fact which in itself, with some exceptions,⁶ reflects the remoteness of these families from independent urban centers. For about 44 per cent of the families so housed the nearest independent towns were places of less than 1,000 population, and almost three-fourths of these families were from 2 to 10 or more miles away from the villages. Only 6 per cent of the bituminous workers' families who were housed in company-owned dwellings had places of 10,000 population or over as their nearest towns, and four-fifths of these families were from 2 to 10 and more miles away from such towns.

The foregoing figures, concerning the distances of bituminous-mine families from normal centers of population and the usual variations in employment opportunities which such centers afford, submerge in the general average illuminating extremes of isolation from, or contact with, independent communities. In West Virginia, for example, over 93 per cent of the mine workers lived in places classed as rural, and over three-fourths were housed in company-owned dwellings in company-controlled towns. In the Illinois and Indiana bituminous fields 53 per cent to 60 per cent of the mine workers were in places

⁵ Incorporated communities having under 2,500 population.

⁶ The exceptions are certain Pennsylvania coal-mining regions where, in spite of the fact that mining operations are within reach of the labor supply of independent towns, a considerable number of the mine workers, who are chiefly foreign born, are housed in company dwellings.

classed as rural, but less than 9 per cent were housed in company-owned dwellings.

Obviously, to women belonging to the families of workers in the newer and more isolated bituminous-mining regions the need of bread-winning opportunities created a serious problem. For these regions no statistical tables are required to show what is a matter of record and of common knowledge, viz, that there were no industries to afford employment to women. Only when the mine workers were employed near the larger cities or in regions that had been fairly well settled before mining operations began were the women of the bituminous workers' families able to work outside the home while living within the family circle.

To this condition in many sections of the bituminous fields the situation in the compact and populous anthracite region presented a striking and in some respects an instructive contrast. Less than a third of the anthracite-mine workers lived in places classed by the census as rural. Less than 10 per cent lived in company-owned dwellings, and of those so housed more than nine-tenths lived in, or could reach within an hour by train or trolley, places of 2,500 population or over. Sixty per cent of the anthracite workers were living within the corporate limits of cities ranging in population from 5,000 to more than 50,000. Because of the elaborate network of steam and electric railways and excellent roads, only an insignificant number of anthracite workers' families, whether housed in company-owned or in privately-owned dwellings, were beyond commuting distance of urban centers which afforded extensive and varied opportunities for the employment of woman labor.

The pertinence and importance of the foregoing facts as to the location of the mine workers' families become apparent from a review of the statistical tables in this report concerning the actual employment of women in the more isolated bituminous communities as compared with employment of women in the populous anthracite region. To begin with, there is a marked difference in the proportions of gainfully employed women in the two great coal fields. Computations from the census population sheets and family schedules show but 18 per cent of the women in the bituminous families to have been breadwinners, as compared with 31 per cent in the families of anthracite workers.

Among adult daughters alone the difference in the proportions of gainfully employed was much greater. The schedules taken in the 1,578 families show that 23.1 per cent of the adult daughters in bituminous fields were gainfully employed, whereas 55.7 per cent of the daughters in homes of the anthracite-mine workers were breadwinners. In the anthracite field 90 per cent of the daughters were gainfully employed outside their own or other private homes, whereas

less than 65 per cent of the wage-earning daughters of bituminous miners were working outside the home. Of the gainfully employed daughters of the men in the anthracite mines, the great majority were employed in manufacturing establishments—chiefly in silk and other textile mills—and in trade. In the case of the bituminous-mine workers visited, the gainfully employed daughters were at work chiefly as saleswomen and domestic servants, a few finding employment as school-teachers and as operators in small factories. Even in the matter of contributions to the family fund the difference in employment opportunities in the two regions is reflected. The daughters of anthracite-mine workers contributed to their families an average sum of \$35.04 per month, whereas the daughters of bituminous-mine workers paid only \$17.17 per month into the family fund.

A significant consequence of these differences in employment opportunities open to the young women members of mine workers' families is discernible in the proportion of families having adult daughters living in the family circle. Although there was only 5 per cent difference in the proportion of families in the two regions having daughters when the daughters were counted irrespective of age, the proportion of anthracite families personally visited having daughters 15 years of age and over within the family circle (28.5 per cent) was almost half as much again as the proportion of bituminous families having daughters so classified (19.5 per cent). These facts indicate clearly the earlier departure from home of the daughters in bituminous-mine regions, as the ages of the mine workers themselves do not differ materially in the two fields, and the smaller proportion of adult daughters in the bituminous fields is not chargeable to a larger number of younger parents.

The effect of the early desertion of the home by so many of the adult daughters of bituminous-mine workers upon the integrity and solidarity of home life is not wholly within the scope of this study, but the social consequences are there, nevertheless, and they in turn exert an influence upon the women at work in and out of the home. Furthermore, these consequences flow from the same set of facts that exert other influences which are wholly within the scope of this study, and still others that are intimately related to the subject. For example, the adult daughters who are compelled to leave the parental roof in search of employment no longer have the moral protection of family life nor the sense of security and stability that attaches to home atmosphere. Such daughters are economically "adrift."⁷ Whether or not their earnings are needed in the support of the family, the

⁷ The term "adrift" was used in the Report on Condition of Woman and Child Wage Earners in the United States (Vol. V) made by the United States Department of Commerce and Labor in 1907-1909 to describe wage-earning women who had not the backing afforded by the solidarity of the family group. They might be boarding or lodging, keeping house singly or in heterogeneous groups, or living in institutions, but in all cases they were "adrift" from normal family life.

daughters who have left in search of breadwinning opportunities must use a considerable part of their wages for separate shelter and other facilities of civilized life. If all or the major part of their wages are required for this purpose, the mine worker's family is helped only by being relieved of the support of the woman breadwinner, and the help that comes through the pooling of family earnings for common support is withdrawn from the breadwinning daughter as well as from her family.

At this point it is important to keep in mind a well-known fact of historical record, viz, that the employment opportunities within reach of the women in mine workers' families of Pennsylvania were not mere beneficent accidents. These opportunities were, on the contrary, the result of a deliberate movement four or five decades ago of the silk mills, and later of other woman-employing industries, into the coal-mining regions of Pennsylvania for the avowed purpose of drawing upon the women of the miners' families, as well as for the purpose of being near the source of fuel supply.

It is not beyond reason that this movement should be imitated by employers who are in many places now complaining of the scarcity of woman labor; also, what resourceful independent communities did to attract varied industries half a century ago, and what is being done in the same direction by new communities in other regions to-day, may be imitated by independent mining communities in the newer bituminous-mining regions. For practically all of them have the same incentive to keep at home, and in many cases they have the same possibilities of keeping at home,* the adult woman labor as well as the man labor not required in mining operations. Among the essential factors, of course, are suitable factory sites, reasonably cheap fuel, and adequate transportation facilities—all probably obtainable. It must not be overlooked, however, that the prospect of increased employment opportunities for women in the families of coal-mine workers is directly affected by the probable period of mine productivity. Where the duration of mining operations is known to be short, or has not been determined, productive activities will be restricted to mining operations, and employment opportunities in the community will be open, with few exceptions, only to mine operatives and auxiliary labor. In such cases the adult woman who must supplement the family income or lighten the demands thereon often must leave the family circle in search of employment. Manifestly this necessity operates first upon the grown and half-grown children. The mine workers' wives, when supplementing the family income, are not relieved usually of the home-confining duties of wife and mother.

Approximately 21 per cent of the wives of anthracite-mine workers and 17 per cent of the wives of the men in bituminous mines

were gainfully employed. But, as might be expected, the overwhelming majority of the approximately 67,500 gainfully employed wives included in the data drawn from the 1920 census population sheets were supplementing the family income by paid labor in their homes, chiefly by taking boarders and lodgers. The investigation made by the Coal Commission's agents in 1,578 coal-mine workers' families showed substantially the same result as to the gainful employment of mine workers' wives, and revealed the further fact that these gainfully occupied wives increased the family income by an average of approximately \$37 a month by taking boarders and lodgers, whereas the average monthly earnings of wives doing work outside the home were about \$10.75.

HOME AND COMMUNITY ENVIRONMENT

A shifting of attention from employment status and opportunities for employment to home and community environment reveals the obvious fact that the environment of the gainfully employed is likewise the environment of those not gainfully employed. Furthermore, the large proportion of adult daughters in the bituminous-mine families who were neither at school nor gainfully employed makes the question of home environment and community resources equally if not more important for them than for those at school or in regular employment. The tables in this report show that the proportion of adult daughters at school in the bituminous fields was 16.3 per cent as compared with 14.3 per cent in the anthracite field, the proportion who were at home in the anthracite field was 30 per cent, as compared with 60 per cent in the bituminous fields. The subject of home environment and community resources of all the women in the mine workers' families gathers a new significance in the light of the nationwide interest in better homes—including better facilities for family life—and in increased and improved means of recreation and education.

But the women in the mine workers' families most concerned in the matter are the mine workers' wives, because they were, according to the investigation, more than three times as many as the adult daughters and because they could not leave the home, except for a few hours at a time. Even more important is the fact that the mine worker's wife occupies a position of peculiar industrial and economic importance whether she falls in the class of gainfully employed or not. The coal-mining industry is acknowledged as basic. Upon it the operation of other industries depends, and without it bulwarks of health and creature comforts in the home fall to pieces. The bunk house and the mine boarding and lodging house long ago proved themselves inadequate to attract a requisite number of workers or to maintain a stable labor supply. Only the presence of his family

can keep the mine worker in the mining region, and because of the isolation of so many mining operations the mine worker's wife assumes an unusual importance to the industry. The mine worker can not at will substitute the restaurant for the family table as can the wage earners in other important industries. He is more continuously dependent upon his home for the essentials of health and working efficiency. This is true whether or not the wife cooks and keeps house for others besides her own family, but those who do supplement the family income by taking boarders and lodgers acquire additional importance to the coal-mining industry because in the bituminous fields, at least, such boarders and lodgers are almost invariably mine workers. Indeed, in some company-controlled towns the operating companies induce employees to take mine-working men into the family, not infrequently making the occupancy of a company-owned house conditional upon promise to take only mine workers as boarders and lodgers.

Computations from the statistical tables in this report indicate that the mine workers' wives were cooking and caring for a total of more than half a million mine workers, more than a hundred thousand of whom were boarders and lodgers. For about 54 per cent of the mine workers' wives the daily tasks were measured by the demands of households ranging from 5 persons to 11 or more. It is an important fact that the families having boarders and lodgers were those, in the main, having fewer than three children; at least the majority of women who had to care for three or more children did not also have to cook and care for men boarders and lodgers. On the other hand, the working efficiency of the mine-working father and son is as important industrially as that of the mine-working boarder or lodger, and, of course, the million and more children heading straight from these homes into the ranks of American citizenship lend an exceptional social importance to the mothers because of the remoteness of so many of the coal-mining fields from the civil institutions of normal American population centers.

In view of these facts, the facilities available to the mine workers' wives for the efficient performance of household duties, whether all the wives are classed as gainfully employed or not, assume an importance equal to that of the working conditions of any other large group of breadwinning women. To get the full significance of the facts as to these facilities, however, it is necessary to call attention to a phase of mining that touches closely the working conditions of the mine worker's wife.

Coal mining is dirty work; not filthy, but oily, soiling, and smudging. A veil of coal dust envelops the region, covering the homes and home premises with a black deposit. Mining laws in many places compel the companies to provide washhouses at the mine

where the men may "wash up" and leave their working clothes. But, as a matter of fact, while mining companies maintain such washhouses, their actual use by the mine worker is confined to a minority of the men. Whether or not this is voluntary, the custom of going home to "wash up" makes additional demands upon the water and washing facilities of the mine workers' homes. Speaking of the restricted use of the mine washhouses in the anthracite region, where working conditions and facilities of civilized life are regarded as much more adequate than in the bituminous coal fields, the report of the United States Coal Commission points out:

Another matter pertinent to this discussion is the requirement of the Pennsylvania mining laws that mines provide washhouses for the mine workers. Reports from the agents assigned to the living conditions study, as well as the reports from agents assigned to certain phases of working conditions, show that practically all of the mines have such washhouses, but the reports from the same agents show that for one reason or another, thousands of men do not use these mine facilities. Indeed, the reports from agents describing family conditions for this study indicate that quite generally the mine worker comes home "to wash up." This custom, whether enforced by inadequate facilities at the mine for the number of men employed or followed voluntarily, puts an added burden upon the domestic water service and upon the shoulders of the mine worker's wife.³

The use of the washhouse in the bituminous fields had the same general limitations as far as the majority of the men were concerned, so that the home water facilities were equally important in both coal-mining regions. The physical environs, however, and the methods of water supply were so different in the two regions that the facts must be summarized for each separately.

In the bituminous fields the United States Coal Commission made a survey of approximately 71,000 company-owned family dwellings in 713 company-controlled communities having almost 100,000 bituminous coal-mine workers. The results of this survey summarized as to water facilities for the purpose of this report show that:

First. Although over 60 per cent of the company-controlled communities had water works, less than 14 per cent of the family dwellings in these communities had any running water at all. Only 2.4 per cent of the homes had a bathtub or shower.

Second. In over 85 per cent of the approximately 71,000 company-owned dwellings water had to be carried from outside the house. Driven or dug wells, usually equipped with pumps, but not infrequently "bucket wells," constituted the prevailing method of water supply.

Third. In less than one-tenth of the 713 company-controlled communities was each family supplied with its own well or hydrant. In one-sixth of such communities there was a single water outlet for every two families. But in another sixth of these communities 6 or

³ U. S. Coal Commission. Report on living conditions among anthracite-mine workers. In press.

7 families used a single water-supply point, and in still another sixth of such mining communities from 8 to more than 31 families were dependent on one well or hydrant.

Fourth. While the summarizing tables in this report do not show the distances over which water had to be carried for household purposes, the Coal Commission's agents reported members of mine workers' families, including the wives, as carrying water over distances ranging from just outside the house to the equivalent of "an average city block." In the northern bituminous-producing States the labor involved in carrying water was increased and complicated during the winter months by snow drifts and ice-covered walks and paths.

Fifth. Water service, of whatever nature it may be, was quite generally included in the rental charge for company-owned houses in the bituminous fields.

That the water facilities in privately owned houses in the 167 independent towns located in the bituminous-mining regions scheduled by the Coal Commission's agents did not differ materially from the facilities available in company-controlled towns is shown by the fact that approximately 14.4 per cent of the 167 independent towns, as compared with 14.9 per cent of the company-owned towns, had water piped practically to all home premises (not necessarily to the inside of the houses), and 56.9 per cent of the 167 independent towns had waterworks systems as compared with 60.8 per cent of the company-owned towns.

The Coal Commission's caution should be quoted in connection with the foregoing comparison of water service in independent and company-owned towns:

It should not be overlooked * * * that water systems are installed in company-controlled communities with little reference to the improvement of the mine workers' homes. * * * While in the independent towns waterworks do not necessarily mean running water in the mine workers' houses, the systems are installed with special reference to the welfare of community members and running-water service in the home is largely a matter of the mine worker's ability to pay for, and his inclination to have, such convenience for himself and his family.⁹

Another matter which requires passing notice is the frequent comment that well-water service is all that most farmers' wives have, and the labor of water carrying, therefore, is not the peculiar hardship of the coal-mine worker's family. The comparison is scarcely valid. In the first place, every farmer's family has its own well. In the next place, farming does not envelop the farm and the farmhouse in veils of black, oily dust, nor encrust the farmer's clothes and person in soft coal grit that gives way only before continuous

⁹ U. S. Coal Commission. Summarized report on bituminous-mine workers and their homes, 1924, p. 30. Mimeographed.

applications of warm, soapy water. In other words, the bituminous coal-mining operations that are extracting new wealth from the soils in old agricultural regions are also discharging wastes that create new labor exactions from the women who feed and care for the industry's workers. This is not to belittle the labor performed by the farmer's wife. It serves only to point out that the widespread efforts made by public and private farm-improvement agencies to lighten the tasks of farm housekeeping by supplying running water for the wife are even more needed in regions where bituminous coal-mining operations are under way.

In the anthracite field quite a different situation presents itself. In the first place, because of the proximity of the anthracite mines to, or their location actually within, independent towns and cities, the mine worker's wife does not bear quite the same relation to her husband's industry that the bituminous miner's wife does to the bituminous industry. The anthracite worker can have recourse to the ordinary town or city boarding house, to the public bathing facilities, and to the recreation resources that prevail in the usual American communities ranging in population from 5,000 to 50,000 and more. On the other hand, because of the compactness and populousness of the anthracite field, the dust from the anthracite mines and the huge culm piles creates the same labor problem for thousands of women in the families of other wage earners that it does for the 78,000 anthracite miners' wives, more than 16,000 of whom were supplementing the family income, chiefly by taking boarders or lodgers.

Ninety-three per cent of the independent towns, where over nine-tenths of the anthracite-mine families were living, had public waterworks systems, as compared with about 83 per cent of the company-owned towns. Of the company-owned dwellings in the controlled towns, 80.6 per cent were equipped with running water, though but 5.4 per cent had either bathtub or showers. In approximately half of the independent towns having public waterworks systems was water piped to practically every house in the community.

"Running water in the house" meant usually one faucet in the kitchen, for which \$6, \$7.20, or \$8 was the prevailing annual charge. For an additional faucet, regardless of whether the volume of water used was larger, an additional annual charge ranging from \$1.50 to \$4 was made. A bathtub entailed an annual charge of \$4 to \$4.80; a washbasin equipped with faucet, \$2 to \$2.50; stationary washtubs (not to exceed three), \$3 to \$4. The United States Coal Commission published this scale as "the schedule of one of the water companies having a number of subsidiary companies" (in the anthracite field) and as one "which does not differ substantially from any of the other companies in the matter of rates."

A water-company rule published in connection with the foregoing rates is of peculiar significance to the anthracite miner's wife and family in view of the nature of the chief wage earner's occupation. This rule provides that "no consumer shall conduct hot or cold water to any fixture by means of a hose or otherwise without paying the regular rate for such fixture." In other words, the mine worker's wife may carry all the water she needs from the faucet to the stove and the stove to the tub or basin or sink, and the family income will be taxed only the minimum rate, but if she uses the same amount of water, drawing it through another faucet placed over a sink, tub, or basin, or even if she seeks to reduce her labor by attaching a hose to the kitchen faucet, an additional charge is made.

Whatever degree of economy in the use of water may be necessary in the anthracite region because of the prevailing use of the wet process in mining hard coal, this practice of virtually penalizing the use of labor-saving devices would seem both illogical and unnecessary. It is illogical because the industry's waste discharge calls for a regional policy of fixing water rates that encourages rather than discourages the use of cleansing facilities. It is unnecessary because meters would check a wasteful use of water without discouraging the use of labor-saving devices by the mine worker's wife and family.

The water facilities in the homes of both bituminous and anthracite workers have been discussed with special reference to the miners' wives because, as previously stated, they are numerically more important and because their presence in the coal-mining regions is more essential to the stability of the industry, but it is obvious that the daughters at home and at work are intimately concerned in the conditions above described. Coming home at the close of a day's work to a house whose restricted water facilities are under heavy drain to meet the needs of the mine-working men in the household and to supply the cooking requirements of the evening meal does not constitute an encouragement to a gainfully employed daughter to remain in the home as long as employment opportunities will permit.

On the whole, ample supplies of water not only are essentials of health, but are an indispensable basis of comfort and cheerfulness. The United States Public Health Service, in a report on a special sanitary survey made for the Coal Commission, calls special attention to the bearing of the facilities for bathing and cleansing on the health and happiness of the women and children in the mining communities. It says:

There is another factor entering into the lives of the people residing in mining camps which has received but scant attention. Bathhouses and change houses are lacking in the vast majority of the settlements. Dirty-faced miners wearing their working clothes are so universal that any other condition would excite comment. In a very few patches, however, bath and change houses have been provided for the miners. Here the working clothes are kept and dried while the

miner is at home, while his street clothes are likewise kept while he is working. After work there are ample facilities for thoroughly removing the dirt and grime acquired while at work. But even in these few places there are no public bathing facilities for the women or children. Likewise, there are no public laundries, such as might facilitate the washing of clothes, and eliminate unsightly and offensive accumulations of wash water from the gutters near the homes.¹⁰

The discussion of water facilities, like the discussion of all other factors affecting the welfare of the employed and unemployed women of the mine workers' families, applies to the majority of company-controlled and independent mining communities. Water facilities as shown for the majority of mine workers' families do not represent the small minority at either end of the scale of equipment. Some families living in company-owned houses, like many mine workers' families living in well developed independent towns or cities, had hot and cold water and bathtubs or showers. Some families, too, had distressingly meager and inconveniently located water supplies, and these were often perilously unprotected from pollution.¹¹

The importance of these extremes should not be overlooked. They show that adequate facilities are not an impracticable adjunct of coal-mining life; they show also to what a level of drudgery daily living falls when a mining community's water resources are little more than nature has provided. But limitation of space and funds restricts discussion of extremes in water facilities as extremes in all other matters to a mere reference to their importance. What prevails and what affects the women belonging to the majority of coal-mine workers' families necessarily constitutes the burden of this report.

The character of water facilities prevailing in the majority of the coal-mine workers' families is a fair index of the other facilities which enter into the livability of home and community. Less than 4 per cent of the more than 80,000 company-owned family dwellings scheduled in the bituminous and anthracite regions had inside flush toilets; only five (six-tenths of 1 per cent) of the 811 company-controlled towns in the two coal fields had all the houses connected with sewers. Of the 283 independent towns located in the two coal-mining regions and included in the commission's investigation, almost 11 per cent were sewered throughout; about 45 per cent of such towns and three-fifths of the company-controlled communities had no sewers at all. These communities depended entirely upon privies, some of which were provided with cesspool and septic tanks, but more of which, in the bituminous regions, were merely surface privies. Concerning these facilities the report of the Coal Commission says:

¹⁰ U. S. Coal Commission. Summarized report on bituminous-mine workers and their homes. 1924. p. 32. Mimeographed.

¹¹ U. S. Coal Commission. Summarized report on bituminous-mine workers and their homes. 1924. p. 33. Mimeographed.

Manifestly, the best type of privy * * * will become a marplot and health menace if left without care. The poorer types of construction, namely, the surface, fly-exposed, loose structure affairs, are inevitably unsightly and unsanitary at the start, and without care, quickly become indescribably filthy and indecent.¹²

That there was a general lack of adequate care, as well as of adequate sewage disposal facilities, especially in the bituminous regions, is made plain not only by the Coal Commission's report but also by the sanitation report incorporated therein, that of the United States Public Health Service, which says:

There can be no question as to the general backwardness of the bituminous coal patches as regards satisfactory methods of disposing of human excreta. In many mining camps and towns, too, it is apparent that the importance of the subject is but partially realized. Moreover, it is plain that little progress has been made since the establishment of the towns.

The average sewerage ratings in the anthracite coal districts show a slight superiority over those of the bituminous regions. It is probable that the higher ratings * * * are due to the *relatively* infrequent use of *surface privies*, the greater number of sanitary sewers, greater size of the communities, better supervision of excreta disposal and better economic conditions.¹²

The foregoing comparison—to the slight advantage of the families of anthracite-mine workers—lends further importance to the fact that nearly four-fifths of the women belonging to the mine workers' families were living in the bituminous fields.

It is important to refer at this point to the fact that a comparison of prevailing sewage-disposal facilities of the average farmhouse with those of the average mine worker's home is no more valid than the comparison of water facilities, for, unlike farming, mining operations bring mine workers' families together into communities of hundreds, sometimes thousands, of people. One privy more or less faulty in construction or lacking in care is neither a pleasant nor a healthful adjunct of a farmhouse, but hundreds of such marplots within an area of a few acres will well-nigh submerge all other assets of home and community livability, to say nothing of imperiling the health of every person who lives or labors within reach of the privy emanations.

An encouraging contrast to the standard of equipment maintained in the toilet facilities was the lighting facilities prevailing in both company-owned and independent towns. Over 61 per cent of the 80,000 company-owned dwellings were equipped with electric or gas light, and nearly 84.3 per cent of the independent towns had electric street lighting. An exception was the company-owned house in the anthracite region, which was not so important because of the relatively small number of families housed by the companies and because (as already described) of the location in, or the close proximity to,

¹² U. S. Coal Commission. Summarized report on bituminous-mine workers and their homes. 1924. p. 34. Mimeographed.

the independent towns. Of course, for the families and communities who were without adequate lighting facilities, the depressing—not to say unsafe—gloom was not relieved by the fact that the majority of other mine workers' families and communities had the cheer and the protection afforded by good light. It is hardly necessary to call attention to the fact that the women—especially the gainfully employed women who had to come home after dark—were particularly concerned in the proper lighting of the streets of a community.

No statistical tables have been incorporated in this report reflecting the general layout and the degree of upkeep in mining communities, as the purpose of such tables is served efficiently by brief quotations from the Coal Commission's published report on these subjects. Speaking of the inherent physical obstacles to satisfactory community planning which confront many coal operators, the report says:

Difficulties of national location frequently confront the operators who must build towns in precipitous country. Sometimes they are overcome; more frequently they are allowed to dominate.¹³

The United States Public Health Service in its special report says:

* * * It is at once apparent that insufficient study and attention have been devoted to the improvement of the general environment in many mining towns. For one thing it can not be expected that grass, trees, flowers, and gardens will thrive on slate dumps, where so many houses have been thoughtlessly located. Nor can suitable streets, walks, or playgrounds be maintained under such conditions. While not directly concerned with sanitation, suitable environment is believed to exert a subtle yet nevertheless certain influence upon the human mind. Moreover, it is felt that a favorable mental reaction is reflected in increased happiness and contentment, which in turn aids in the maintenance of health.¹⁴

The Coal Commission's findings as to the general upkeep of company-controlled towns in the bituminous-coal mining regions are reflected in the following quotations:

Repair and general upkeep are as important in determining the character of a community as are plan, construction, and equipment. The repair of company houses appeared to be a subject of constant controversy between individual mine workers and mine officials. Tenants contended almost uniformly that it was a difficult matter to get defects and dilapidations corrected by the companies without repeated complaints and insistent demands. On the other hand, there was general complaint by company officials that the tenants willfully or carelessly destroyed company property. Unquestionably it is true of tenants in company houses—as of tenants in houses rented for 20 times the amounts they pay—that they do not take care of other people's property as they would of their own. Sometimes the mine workers make repairs at their own expense. Sometimes the companies provide materials and the tenants do the work. Many exceptions were found to the prevailing neglect, but they were not so numerous as to constitute more than exceptions. In places where some pains were taken

¹³ U. S. Coal Commission. Summarized report on bituminous-mine workers and their homes. 1924. p. 19 et seq. Mimeographed.

¹⁴ Op. cit. p. 32.

to keep the houses painted, it seemed to be done usually as a measure for preserving the property rather than to increase its attractiveness, for the colors were uniform, and frequently ugly, throughout the entire community. In this respect too, there were refreshing exceptions, expressing an appreciation that monotony of color has an irritating and unsettling effect, like monotony of sound, and affects the comfort and content of human beings.

In the worst of the company-controlled communities the state of disrepair at times runs beyond the power of verbal description or even of photographic illustration, since neither words nor pictures can portray the atmosphere of abandoned dejection or reproduce the smells. Old, unpainted board and batten houses—batten going or gone and boards fast following, roofs broken, porches staggering, steps sagging, a riot of rubbish, and a medley of odors—such are features of the worst camps. They are not by any means in the majority; but wherever they exist they are a reproach to the industry and a serious matter for such mine workers and mine workers' families as are dependent upon the companies for living facilities.¹⁵

Because of the limitation of time and funds it was not practicable to appraise the efficiency of the general upkeep of the mine workers' homes, interspersed as they were with the homes of other wage earners, in the independent towns located in the coal-mining regions. Furthermore, except for the moral responsibility resting upon mining officials who, through wealth or other influence, may dominate such civically-controlled centers, community and home standards are considered to be within the control of community members. A very considerable number, sometimes amounting to a majority, of these community members were the mine workers and their families.

In the anthracite region, however, there are some important factors entering into the physical environment of the mine worker's family for which the mining companies are responsible, whether or not there is any practicable way of reducing or eliminating the sinister effects. Chief among these are the huge culm piles, whose hundred years of climbing has marred the sky line and scarred and charred the landscape. In addition, these piles hoard beneath their ever-spreading bases a great acreage of land much needed for homes. These land-absorbing culm piles materially increase the housing shortage, which, in some places in the anthracite region, results in such overcrowding, and in the use of such dilapidated structures for housing, as to make the communities targets for country-wide criticism. Secondly, the extraction of this culm, together with the clean, hard coal sent to the Nation's home fires and furnaces, has left beneath the surface cavities that still further restrict home building, even where mining operations have ceased and where no culm piles preempt the land. Caving-in is not uncommon, and the fear of damage suits from settling surfaces has kept mining companies from selling the land near abandoned mines even though a land-hungry people and a shortage of housing make a responsive market for home sites. Thirdly, the wet process

¹⁵ Op. cit. p. 21.

of coal cleaning used in the anthracite fields has turned the rivulets and creeks into black, muddy streams that spread over acres of land a coat of black silt which kills vegetation, destroys the comeliness of a naturally comely region, and still further reduces the housing facilities for an already overcrowded region.

These evils may not be avoidable or even reducible by the operators, but the conditions grow out of the industry, and they exert a depressing influence, especially upon the wives and children in the mine workers' families. On the other hand, while the anthracite operators, because of the wealth they control, are a powerful influence in framing public policies, the anthracite-mine workers have shown themselves strong enough to bargain collectively and effectively with the operators. Furthermore, the workers—naturalized and native—their wives, adult daughters, and sons constitute a goodly number of the electorate, which, in the last analysis, is responsible for the progress or lack of progress made toward the solution of problems growing out of the industry.

HOME TENURE AMONG MINE WORKERS' FAMILIES

The general indifference toward upkeep, reflected in the paragraphs from the Coal Commission's report, quoted in the foregoing pages is inextricably bound up with one of the most important factors in the home life of the women of any family and particularly of the women in the homes of the coal-mine workers. The nationwide movement for better homes, which carries with it a strong current for home ownership, appeals with special force to the women of the household because they are most concerned in the security of home tenure. The gainfully employed woman, holding her job only at the pleasure of her employer, has a sense of security that finds expression in a better bargaining power when she returns at night to a home that is owned by her family. When there hovers in the back of her consciousness the possibility that a belated rent payment, an expired lease, a rise in rental, or other circumstances which neither she nor her family can control may mean an "order to vacate" not only does she lose affection for, and interest in, the home premises but she loses that sense of security essential to a proper valuation of her own services as an employee. The psychology due to insecure home tenure is too well understood to require more than mention here as a preliminary to the disclosures of the statistical analyses in this report showing that 31 per cent of all the coal-mine workers studied, owned their homes in part or in whole, as compared with 46 per cent of the entire population; that for West Virginia and some of the other newer but highly important bituminous-producing States the proportion of coal miners' families owning their homes runs below 20 per cent; and that the proportions of home ownership run highest

for the States where there were fairly well-developed communities before coal-mining operations were initiated.

Where the company owned the mining town, there was, with one or two exceptions,¹⁶ no home ownership by the mine workers in the town. It is true that the mine worker living in a company-owned house pays relatively a smaller rent, usually gets heat and light at much less cost, has water facilities, whether they be antiquated or modern, at less expense, and is assured of medical service at a much smaller outlay than is available to the family living outside the company town; but, as previously indicated, the very exigency of mining in remote places requires that when a mine worker ceases to work in a company's mine he must, as a rule, cease to live in the company's house. So essential is this rule that the leases covering occupancy of company houses stipulate that when a mine worker ceases to work for the company for any cause whatsoever the right to occupy the company house terminates automatically. To insure the effectiveness of the stipulation the leases provide varying penalties for failure to surrender possession of houses to the operating company upon termination of lease. Two dollars a day (normal rent of cottage \$6 to \$10 a month) may sometimes be deducted from accrued wages for every day the cottage is occupied beyond the date of lease termination. In some cases all accrued wages may be withheld until possession of cottage is surrendered. The owning operator always reserves the right to evict the miner tenant and family without incurring liability for any injury resulting from the process to the mine worker's belongings. It should be borne in mind that this termination of the lease with cessation of work in the company's mine is not contingent upon the voluntary withdrawal of the mine worker from the employ of the company: the mine boss may discharge the worker, or the latter may be forced by circumstances to cease working for the company. Whichever it may be, he loses his right to the home both for himself and his family when he loses or gives up the job. In times of industrial disturbance especially, men have not dared to look elsewhere for work, fearing that their families would be evicted if the companies discovered that the tenant miners had gone in search of other employment.

This is not to say that it is the custom of operators to turn a family out of a cottage when the miner is ill or injured or even when slack work in the mine during times of industrial peace has thrown the miner practically out of employment. On the contrary, cases of eviction of a family because the miner was injured or too ill to work in the mine were not found during the Coal Commission's investiga-

¹⁶ A few companies have made the experiment of selling sites and dwellings to the mine workers to stabilize mine labor.

tion of 713 company-controlled mining communities in the bituminous regions. Indeed the instances were frequent in which the miner's family lived on in the company's house during the illness or after the death of a miner who had been a victim of a mine accident. But these are measures of mercy and are as elastic as the social sympathies of the operators. Neither the mine worker nor his family has any protection in law that would secure to him notice of lease termination and days of grace in which to provide for the safe and orderly transfer of his family to another shelter. But deeper than this lies the constant thought that in health or in sickness, in prosperity or in poverty, there is no security of tenure which attaches to a home leased under the ordinary tenancy laws of any State, and which attaches especially to the home which the mine worker's family owns in part or in whole.

Finally, the mine-working tenant of a company-owned cottage yields somewhat of that dominion over his abode which is considered to make of every man's home a castle. Under a company lease the mine worker frequently agrees "that he has only the right of ingress and egress for himself and his immediate family;" "that he will not entertain without the company's consent persons objectionable to the company;" "that he will not take into his house without the operator's consent boarders or lodgers who do not work in the company's mine, and he grants to the owning company the right of entrance to his house for purpose of inspection any hour of the day or of the night."

This condition can not fail to exert a telling influence upon the gainfully employed daughters, grown and half-grown, in the miner's family. It is in itself enough to account for the markedly small proportion of bituminous miners' families, as compared with the families of anthracite miners, who have adult daughters under the parental roof. Mention has been made in the foregoing pages of the sense of security which is usually possessed by the gainfully employed women who live at home. Manifestly this psychological asset of the bread-winning women not "adrift" is reduced materially by the uncertainty of home tenure when such women belong to mine workers' families occupying company-owned dwellings. Of course, upon the daughters who are not employed—and over three-fourths of those living at home in the bituminous regions were so reported—the insecurity of home tenure exerts an influence even more undesirable.

But upon the wives who must stay, more than upon the employed and unemployed daughters who may leave, the insecurity of home possession puts the greatest strain. The vital connection between her husband's job and the roof that shelters her children and herself creates for the mine worker's wife an ever present possibility that any day he may come from work with both job and home gone.

Apart from, though a consequence of, the uncertainty of leasehold on the home there is a rootless quality about life in a company-controlled town. It is a coal-mining "camp." A woman may have lived and labored there a month or a lifetime; her babies may have been born there; her boys may have grown into manhood, may have mined through the years of maturity, and gone to graves dug close by the scenes of their labors; but still it is a mining "camp." What's in the name is in the grain of the wife's thought as it is in the thought of her family and of the public. It is the ever present sense of temporariness, a place not in which to live, but in which to camp—for a month, a year, or perhaps a lifetime. In physical conditions the community may fall anywhere in the wide range previously shown to characterize mining centers. The camp may be a model, made so by the resourcefulness and sense of social obligation of a coal operator who in the teeth of a snarling opposition from nature has carved a townsite out of the hillside or wedged it between mountain base and concrete wall that holds in check unruly river or overflowing creek; it may be laid out with care, built, equipped, and kept up with an envisioned liberality. Or the camp may be at the other end of the scale—a collection of sordid shanties in disheartening unrepair, surrounded by an indescribable clutter, and not infrequently enveloped in odors arising from conditions which stamp the owning operator as a breeder of social and physical disease. Or it may be one of the ordinary camps, rows of red or brown, yellow, green, or mud-colored cottages strung along a creek bank, flung helter-skelter up the hillside, or sown in hit-or-miss clusters in a rolling valley or over a level tableland—none of them very bad or very good, just drab, aloof, without community root. Not the best, nor the average, nor the worst mining community, if owned and controlled by the operating company, can be anything but a camp, and on no camp will descend that spirit of "to have and to hold" that is at once the breath of life and the stimulator and regulator of healthful community growth.

Especially do the womenfolk of the mine worker's family reflect this camp or "mining-patch" complex:

It's no place for girls to live in—no place to bring up a family. We've been here 20 years and more; seen managers come and managers go—some good and some bad. But after 20 years we have nothing that we can call our own.

This is the utterance of one woman, but its import is that of all the others commenting clearly or confusedly, with calmness or with impassioned vehemence, on mining life in the company-owned camp.

The fact remains, however, that until independent communities have built up around the present isolated mining regions, as in the earlier days of Pennsylvania's mining fields when factories were erected to use the women and young labor of the mine worker's family, other houses being built in turn to meet the demands of the

growing industries, the company-controlled camp will be a necessary evil. In many cases the building up of independent communities and privately owned homes will have to come on the initiative of the operating companies, who frequently own all the land within convenient reach of the mine.

It is plain that under ordinary tenancy laws the ownership and the leasehold of homes even in independent communities have their drawbacks for mine workers' families as for others. Conditions described in the anthracite region in connection with the physical environment of mine workers' families complicate the problem of ownership and tenancy, for an increasing shortage of housing facilities necessarily results in abnormal rentals, speculative transfers, and uncertainty of tenure.

COMMUNITY RESOURCES

When mining communities are within easy reach of independent towns, the question of community resources has not the same importance that attaches to such facilities in the isolated mining camps. The schools, motion pictures, girls' and women's clubs, churches and church societies, the banks, libraries, commercial establishments, and all the other accessories of civilized life are at the service of the women in the mine workers' families, provided, of course, that the term "within easy reach" means possibility of access when there is but an hour or so to spend in recreation or amusement. For a large majority of the more than 78,000 wives in the families of the anthracite-mine workers this was the case. It was also the case for a few of the wives in the families of the bituminous-mine workers occupying company-owned houses in districts that had been fairly well populated and civically organized before mining operations began. It was the case also for a considerable number of women belonging to mine families living in the larger independent towns in the bituminous-coal regions. But for one-half of the approximately 300,000 wives in the families of bituminous-coal workers the facilities for recreation and amusement were confined to those provided by the operating companies. What these community resources were in the company-controlled towns in the bituminous fields is best told in the words of the Coal Commission's report:

Among other community resources which are important factors in living conditions are educational facilities, provisions for medical and dental service, institutions of public worship, and means of recreation and amusement. The most conspicuous facts about resources in the company communities themselves may here be summarized as follows:

In the majority of the communities provision for recreation and amusement is so meager as to be almost negligible.

Educational facilities were rated at 75 or over in 44 per cent of the communities which were scored in the field on the basis of 100. These facilities were not always provided by State or county boards of education, but sometimes were

subsidized by the companies, and sometimes supported by a school tax deducted from the pay of the mine workers.

Medical service was within reach of practically all the communities, but with varying degrees of ease. One physician sometimes serves several communities and is therefore not able to respond to calls promptly. Dental service was within practicable reach of only a small minority of the communities. Hospital and nursing service, except in model communities, is not within convenient or even reasonable distance, taking into consideration the condition of the roads and the available transportation facilities.

Churches, or buildings which were available for church services, were found in a majority of the communities. Frequently the same structure served more than one denomination and other purposes than that of a place for church activities. In some cases the community has raised money for the erection of a church, the company contributing to the fund.¹⁷

The United States Public Health Service digressed sufficiently from the main object of its report to comment on this feature of mining life in the bituminous fields with special reference to the children. As facilities which provide wholesome and safe play for children lighten the labor and care of the working wife and mother, the quotation is pertinent to this report. The Public Health Service says:

The absence of playgrounds in many mining camps, especially for the smaller children, is particularly noticeable. In a few of the larger places apparatus of a simple type is provided, but the grounds are invariably in poor condition, the locations frequently difficult of access, while skilled supervision of play is universally lacking. Now that supervised play is deemed a necessary part of a child's mental and physical make-up some thought could well be directed to this phase of health maintenance.¹⁸

The foregoing quotation refers alike to company-owned and independent towns in the bituminous-coal communities. In the matter of playgrounds and other recreational provisions, as in all other resources of community life, the miners' families in independent towns generally do not depend upon the operating companies. With all the other members of the community, they possess the privileges and duties of initiative and progress. That these privileges and duties have been met, by and large, in about the same degree as in independent American villages, towns, and cities of corresponding population in the East and Middle West, is indicated by the statistical tables in this report which summarize the facts as to facilities for recreation, education, and other group activities. These tables show that 64 per cent of the 283 independent communities scheduled in the bituminous and anthracite regions had dance halls, that 76 per cent had motion-picture shows, 54 per cent had basket-ball teams, 79 per cent had church clubs, 37 per cent had playgrounds, 29 per cent had public parks, and 14 per cent had rest rooms. Over

¹⁷ U. S. Coal Commission. Summarized report on bituminous-mine workers and their homes 1924. p. 21. Mimeographed.

¹⁸ *Op. cit.* p. 32.

four-fifths of the towns had resident physicians, though only 27 per cent had public and 35 per cent private nurses. In less than one-fifth of the towns there were public libraries or reading rooms. As might be expected, the larger the town the more ample were the community resources.

The outstanding fact revealed by the table summarizing community resources is that, with few exceptions, the lower percentages prevail for the facilities in which the recreation and improvement of women are most concerned—public parks, reading rooms, libraries, rest rooms, girls' clubs. This is even more conspicuous in the assembly of facts concerning the company-owned towns. In other words, the community resources affecting the approximately half million women in the mine workers' families were not such as to offset materially the usual disadvantages of physical environment which attach to life in coal-mining communities whether company or civically controlled.

THE RACE FACTOR AS AFFECTING LIVING CONDITIONS

Finally, while Americanization is not an objective of this report, it is important to know the racial origin and aspect of the families to which these half million women belong in order to assess properly the importance and the reciprocal bearing of the conditions described in the foregoing pages. Isolation, drab or dingy physical environment, monotonous and resourceless community life are of varying social and industrial importance. When confronting a woman into whose blood and bones are bred the spirit and tradition of normal American community life these factors obviously have an effect different from that which results when the same conditions confront a woman whose family is presided over by a man born abroad, laboring to secure for himself and his family a foothold in coal-mining regions, with no understanding of the civil institutions and community facilities which constitute the living body of normal American commonwealths. To the woman of American birth and extraction conscious and subconscious fellowship with the American people is a powerful offset to detaching isolation, even though she may live in the remotest of coal-mining communities. She has always the sense of belonging to the American Nation, and if she leaves the mining community for a normal American community she is but going among her own people. This is not the case with the woman belonging to the family of the foreign-born worker, particularly if the mother and the woman herself were born abroad. To her whose father has come direct from the old country to work in the mines, the coal-mining community—whether populous independent town or isolated company-controlled mining camp—is America. Only the memories and traditions of the homeland stand

by for comparison with her present environment. When she leaves the mining community in search of employment, or perhaps to go to a home of her own, she carries with her all the old country traditions, and only her experience with the coal-mining community to serve her as a standard of American life.

It is important to know that of the 376,500 normal homes in the coal-mining regions of continental United States, nearly 150,000 were presided over by the foreign born. It is encouraging that the relatively largest proportion of foreign born—constituting nearly two-thirds of the mine workers there—were in the populous anthracite region, where constant intercourse with American community life was inevitable. The largest actual number of foreign born, however, were in the bituminous regions, where four-fifths of the women in coal-mine workers' families were to be found.

The Polish led all other foreign born in the number of homes maintained in all coal-mining regions. They constituted over 20 per cent of the homes presided over by the foreign born, or about 8 per cent of the total number of homes, native and foreign born together. The Italian born were next in order, with a record fairly close to that of the Polish born; Austrians and Russians came next in order, these four together constituting over 60 per cent of all the foreign-born mine workers maintaining normal homes in the coal-mining regions and about one-fourth of the total of 376,500 normal homes in these fields.

A careful scrutiny of the tables in this report will reveal racial influences on many conditions which enter into standards of home and community life—such as the number of gainfully employed wives; the number of children at home, at school, and at work; the number in the household; and the ownership of homes. They tell an instructive story and one whose drift does not always run parallel with popular conceptions of standards prevailing in families of native Americans as compared with families of the foreign born.

One fact exerting a direct and important influence upon the women in the coal-workers' families should be mentioned in closing. The Coal Commission includes in its published reports¹⁹ tables showing the literacy of mine workers. These tables are not reproduced in this report. But the condition there disclosed, that of the mine workers born in non-English-speaking countries, 23 per cent were unable to read or write in any language and that nearly 13 per cent did not speak English, created an economic risk for all the mine workers' families whether native or foreign born in those regions where no law existed on the statute books forbidding workers un-

¹⁹ U. S. Coal Commission. Summarized report on bituminous-mine workers and their homes. 1924. p. 14. Mimeographed.

able to understand English from going into the mines. Coal mining is a hazardous industry at best, and the mine worker who can neither receive nor give a written warning, and who can understand no warning, written or spoken, if given in English, not only is an extra hazard to himself and his fellow workmen of whatever country of origin but creates a special hazard for the women in the families of his fellow workmen as well as for the women in his own family. Every mine worker crippled or killed puts an added burden upon the gainfully employed women in his household and increases the need of employment opportunities for the others.

PART III

ANALYSES OF STATISTICAL TABLES

In the preceding section which contains the principal factors entering into the lives of the approximately half million women in mine workers' families—including the 100,000 gainfully employed women—a picture of the family life and an outline of the social and economic problems of the women in coal-mining communities are presented. It is important, however, to give in detail the statistical information which has made possible the foregoing discussion. Accordingly this part of the report is concerned with the analyses of the statistical tables. The sources and methods used in compiling these tables are given in the introduction.

MAINTENANCE OF "NORMAL HOMES" IN MINING REGIONS

As four-fifths of all coal-mine employees were reported in the bituminous region it is not surprising that four-fifths of the homes maintained by such workers were located in these fields. Table 1 shows the States in which the larger numbers of normal homes were located. Pennsylvania, with more than 20 per cent of all mine workers' homes in her anthracite field and 23 per cent of all mine workers' homes in her bituminous fields contained, therefore, 43 per cent of all the mine workers and their wives in continental United States. West Virginia and Illinois follow, each with approximately one-eighth of the mine workers' homes; then come Ohio and Kentucky, each with about 7 per cent. Although Table 1 shows Alabama to have only 2 per cent of the homes, it is probable that it ranks next to Indiana in the number within its mining regions since, as previously stated, less than one-half of the family records of Alabama mine workers were included in the Coal Commission's tabulations. Iowa shows about 2 per cent of the mine workers' homes; Tennessee, Virginia, Missouri, and Oklahoma each between 1 and 2 per cent. No other State reveals so much as 1 per cent of the mine workers' homes.

A slightly larger percentage of the homes in the anthracite region than in the bituminous regions were presided over by wives of mine workers. This is due to the fact that the percentage of single men and men with wives abroad is larger for the bituminous than for the anthracite fields.

TABLE 1.—*Number of mine workers' homes in the principal coal-producing States and number presided over by father and mother, by locality*

[From 1920 United States census population sheets]

Locality	Homes maintained		Homes presided over by father and mother	
	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent
All States.....	411,482	100.0	376,550	100.0
Bituminous-mining regions, total.....	327,605	79.6	298,365	79.2
Pennsylvania.....	91,322	22.9	86,157	22.9
West Virginia.....	54,753	13.3	49,083	13.0
Illinois.....	52,947	12.9	48,367	12.8
Ohio.....	31,089	7.6	28,103	7.5
Kentucky.....	28,065	6.8	26,258	7.0
Indiana.....	16,526	4.0	15,345	4.1
Iowa.....	8,524	2.1	7,579	2.0
Alabama.....	8,257	2.0	7,436	2.0
Tennessee.....	7,749	1.9	7,302	1.9
Virginia.....	6,556	1.6	6,199	1.6
Missouri.....	5,996	1.5	5,257	1.4
Oklahoma.....	5,511	1.3	4,899	1.3
Maryland.....	3,410	.8	3,071	.8
Michigan.....	1,273	.3	1,205	.3
Western States.....	2,627	.6	2,244	.6
Anthracite-mining region of Pennsylvania.....	83,877	20.4	78,185	20.8

The United States Coal Commission did not tabulate the countries of birth of mine workers' wives. It concerned itself only with the birthplace of the head of the family. While the country of birth of the father is not necessarily that of the mother the influence of the father's racial characteristics and traditions is too important to be overlooked in a study of factors entering into the environment of wives and daughters. Table 2 lists, therefore, the countries from which have come most of the mine workers having families with them in the mining regions. In the bituminous regions about 60 in every 100 were born in the United States, whereas in the anthracite field only 35 in every 100 were so classified. Nor had the anthracite field many native negroes, whereas 7.5 per cent of those employed in the bituminous fields were negroes. Practically 23 per cent of all mine workers maintaining homes in the anthracite field were Polish. No other foreign group approximates the Polish in numbers, although about one-eighth were born in Russia. In the bituminous fields Italian heads of families were more numerous than those of any other foreign race, the Austrians, next in number, having less than three-fourths as many, and the Poles, ranking third, having about two-thirds the number.

TABLE 2.—Number of mine workers' homes and number presided over by father and mother in the bituminous and anthracite regions, by country of birth of mine worker

[From 1920 United States census population sheets]

Country of birth of mine worker	Homes maintained		Homes presided over by father and mother		Homes presided over by father and mother in—			
	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Bituminous-mining regions		Anthracite-mining region	
					Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent
All countries	411,489	100.0	378,550	100.0	298,365	100.0	79,185	100.0
United States, white.....	223,950	54.4	205,587	54.6	178,444	59.8	27,123	34.7
United States, negro.....	26,411	6.4	22,301	5.9	22,280	7.5	21	(1)
Foreign countries, total.....	161,121	39.2	149,682	39.5	97,641	32.7	51,041	65.3
Poland.....	32,624	7.9	30,976	8.2	13,047	4.4	17,929	22.9
Italy.....	27,447	6.7	25,063	6.7	19,537	6.5	5,526	7.1
Austria.....	21,404	5.2	19,828	5.3	14,223	4.8	5,605	7.2
British Isles.....	18,675	4.5	16,706	4.4	11,394	3.8	5,312	6.8
Russia.....	17,920	4.4	16,741	4.4	7,138	2.4	9,603	12.3
Czechoslovakia.....	14,635	3.6	13,817	3.7	9,896	3.3	3,921	5.0
Hungary.....	9,383	2.3	8,623	2.3	7,442	2.5	1,181	1.5
Germany.....	5,720	1.4	5,111	1.4	4,533	1.5	578	.7
Yugoslavia.....	5,451	1.3	4,757	1.3	3,762	1.3	995	1.3
All other.....	7,882	1.9	7,060	1.9	6,669	2.2	391	.5

¹ Less than one-tenth of 1 per cent.

MINE WORKERS' WIVES GAINFULLY EMPLOYED

More than 97 per cent of the married women living in mining regions were maintaining homes. The 3 per cent who boarded or lived with their mothers have been excluded from this report because their numbers were too insignificant to be carried in the statistical summaries. As the preceding tables show, there were 376,550 wives presiding over homes in mining regions, and Table 3 indicates that over four-fifths devoted all their time to the duties involved in home making. The remainder were supplementing the family income by earning money.

The mine workers' wives who were remuneratively employed numbered 67,467. The census figures concerning the number of households taking boarders or lodgers, together with Table 4 based on families personally interviewed, leave no doubt that the chief means of earning money afforded women who must maintain homes in mining regions is taking boarders or lodgers. In the more isolated bituminous-mining regions this involves not only cooking and the care of sleeping quarters but doing the laundry for boarders and lodgers. In many camps it is customary for the boarders to bring their own food, the wife of the household cooking for each boarder as well as for her own family. While this system probably makes for greater satisfaction among the boarders it must entail much more cooking on the part of the housewife than if the same food were cooked to be eaten by family and boarders alike.

The only other remunerative tasks which commonly fall to the mine worker's wife are in day work—laundering or cleaning—in the homes of mine official or professional men attached to the mining community. As such homes are few in number compared with the number of mine workers' wives, day work can be considered as only a secondary opportunity of employment for women with home cares.

TABLE 3.—*Employment of mine workers' wives inside or outside the home, by locality*

[From 1920 United States census population sheets]

Locality	Mine workers maintaining homes with wives present	Mine workers having wives gainfully employed						Mine workers having wives not gainfully employed	
		Total		In home		Outside home		Number	Per cent
		Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent		
All States.....	376,550	67,487	17.9	65,619	17.4	1,848	0.5	309,083	82.1
Bituminous-mining regions, total.....	298,385	50,924	17.1	49,344	16.5	1,580	0.5	247,441	82.9
Pennsylvania.....	86,157	17,128	19.9	16,890	19.6	238	.3	69,029	80.1
West Virginia.....	49,033	10,421	21.3	10,106	20.6	315	.6	38,612	78.7
Illinois.....	48,367	7,101	14.7	6,792	14.0	309	.6	41,266	85.3
Ohio.....	28,103	3,943	14.0	3,797	13.5	146	.5	24,160	86.0
Kentucky.....	26,258	4,354	16.6	4,179	15.9	175	.7	21,904	83.4
Indiana.....	15,345	1,854	12.1	1,775	11.6	79	.5	13,491	87.9
Iowa.....	7,579	1,097	14.5	1,017	13.4	80	1.1	6,482	85.5
Alabama.....	7,436	1,315	17.7	1,232	16.6	83	1.1	6,121	82.3
Tennessee.....	7,302	788	10.8	766	10.5	22	.3	6,514	89.2
Virginia.....	6,199	852	13.7	836	13.5	16	.3	5,347	86.3
Missouri.....	5,257	644	12.3	578	11.0	66	1.3	4,613	87.7
Oklahoma.....	4,809	618	12.9	584	12.1	34	.7	4,191	87.1
Maryland.....	3,071	306	10.0	306	10.0	—	—	2,765	90.0
Michigan.....	1,205	204	16.9	192	15.9	12	1.0	1,001	83.1
Western States.....	2,244	299	13.3	294	13.1	5	.2	1,945	86.7
Anthracite-mining region of Pennsylvania.....	78,185	16,543	21.2	16,275	20.8	268	.3	61,642	78.8

TABLE 4.—*Gainful employment and earnings of wives of mine workers, by locality*

[From family schedules: Figures taken for one year ended December 31, 1922, in bituminous fields and for six months ended March 31, 1923, in anthracite field]

Locality	Number of families visited	Wives taking boarders or lodgers			Wives having other gainful employment					
		Number	Average number boarders or lodgers	Average earnings per month	Number	Number doing—				Average earnings per month
						Laundering or cleaning by day	Sewing or crocheting	Telephone operating	Farm work	
All fields represented.....	1,578	188	1.8	\$36.89	32	27	4	1	1	\$10.75
Bituminous fields in Pennsylvania, West Virginia, Ohio, and Illinois.....	866	98	2.1	35.77	25	21	2	1	1	9.88
Anthracite field of Pennsylvania.....	712	90	1.5	38.09	7	6	2	—	—	13.85

¹ In two families boarders paid in foodstuffs supplied to the family.

² Four women also took boarders.

³ One woman also did laundering.

⁴ Three women also took boarders.

⁵ One woman also took boarders.

Table 3 indicates also that the proportion of wives gainfully employed varied considerably from State to State. It was highest in West Virginia and lowest in Maryland, the former having 21 wives and the latter 10 wives gainfully employed of every 100 maintaining homes. Pennsylvania shows a slightly higher proportion of wives at work in the anthracite field than in the bituminous fields, the figures being 21.2 per cent in one case and 19.9 per cent in the other.

The proportions of women maintaining homes who were also gainfully employed varied more by nationality than by State. One-eighth of the wives of German mine workers were employed, and but slightly more of the wives of native whites. More than a fourth of the wives of negro mine employees, and of Italians, Russians, Hungarians, and Yugoslavs, earned money to supplement the husband's income. Table 5 shows that the race having the largest proportion of wives leaving the home to work was the negro, and only 2.1 per cent of these worked away from the home premises.

TABLE 5.—*Employment of mine workers' wives inside or outside the home, by country of birth of mine worker*

[From 1920 United States census population sheets]

Country of birth of mine worker	Mine workers maintaining homes with wives present	Mine workers having wives gainfully employed						Mine workers having wives not gainfully employed	
		Total		In homes		Outside home		Number	Per cent
		Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent		
All countries.....	376,550	67,467	17.9	65,619	17.4	1,848	0.5	309,093	82.1
United States, white.....	205,567	26,571	12.9	25,738	12.5	833	0.4	178,996	87.1
United States, negro.....	22,301	5,916	26.5	5,443	24.4	473	2.1	16,385	73.5
Foreign countries, total.....	148,682	34,980	23.5	34,438	23.2	542	.4	113,702	76.5
Poland.....	30,976	7,570	24.4	7,469	24.1	101	.3	23,406	75.6
Italy.....	25,063	7,094	28.3	7,006	28.0	88	.4	17,969	71.7
Austria.....	19,828	4,410	22.2	4,349	21.9	61	.3	15,418	77.8
Russia.....	16,741	4,936	29.5	4,865	29.1	71	.4	11,805	70.5
British Isles.....	16,706	2,520	15.1	2,446	14.6	74	.4	14,186	84.9
Czechoslovakia.....	13,817	2,849	20.6	2,812	20.4	37	.3	10,968	79.4
Hungary.....	8,623	2,301	26.7	2,270	26.3	31	.4	6,322	73.3
Germany.....	5,111	658	12.5	613	12.0	25	.5	4,473	87.5
Yugoslavia.....	4,757	1,445	30.4	1,428	30.0	17	.4	3,212	69.6
All other.....	7,060	1,217	17.2	1,180	16.7	37	.5	5,843	82.8

DAUGHTERS IN MINE WORKERS' FAMILIES

The family schedules secured from coal-mine workers indicated that while about three-fourths of the bituminous-mine workers had daughters, only 19.5 per cent had daughters 15 years of age or over still living at home. When compared with the figures for the anthracite region, it is obvious that the lack of employment facilities for young women in many bituminous fields forces a large number away

from home. There was no great difference in the two fields in the proportions of daughters 15 years of age and over who went to school, but while about 56 per cent of the young women of this age in the anthracite region still members of the home circle were at work, only 23 per cent of daughters in the bituminous-mining regions had been employed during the year 1922.

TABLE 6.—*Daughters in mine workers' families at school, at home, and at work, by locality*

[From family schedules: Figures taken for one year ended December 31, 1922, in bituminous fields and for six months ended March 31, 1923, in anthracite field]

Locality	Number of families visited	Families having daughters		Families having daughters 15 years of age and over		Number of daughters 15 years of age and over	Status of daughters 15 years of age and over—					
		Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent		At school		At home		At work	
							Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent
Bituminous fields in Pennsylvania, West Virginia, Ohio, and Illinois.....	866	643	74.2	169	19.5	221	36	16.3	134	60.6	51	23.1
Anthracite field of Pennsylvania.....	712	504	79.2	203	28.5	287	41	14.3	86	30.0	160	55.7

The limitation of opportunity for employment in bituminous regions is further emphasized in Tables 7 and 8. Whereas nine-tenths of the girls in the anthracite region worked outside the home in factory, office, or store, almost a third of the girls in the bituminous fields were employed in domestic or personal service. The silk mills in and around the anthracite region afforded employment to the largest number, although factories making various products employed a considerable group. The stores and offices in the cities and towns also furnished opportunities to many girls, while schools, hospitals, telephone exchanges, hotels, restaurants, power laundries, and all other establishments resulting from organized community life offered employment opportunities to some of the daughters of anthracite-mine workers.

Within reach of only a few of the older bituminous-mining regions were factories to be found which gave employment to the mine worker's daughter. The large store in each small mining community may have one or more girls as saleswomen, or a girl cashier; the school may have a local mine worker's daughter as teacher; the doctor's wife may prefer a young woman for cleaning rather than a mine worker's wife; but adding together all opportunities for employment that may occur in the sparsely settled bituminous-mining region there could not possibly be enough work for the girls 15 years of age and over—estimated to number more than 75,000—in the families of bituminous-mine workers.

TABLE 7.—Character of employment of mine workers' daughters, by locality

[From family schedules: Figures taken for one year ended December 31, 1922, in bituminous fields and for six months ended March 31, 1923, in anthracite field]

Locality	Number of gainfully employed daughters	Daughters whose place of employment was—				Daughters the character of whose employment was—										
		Outside own or other private home		Within own or other private home		Domestic or personal				Other employment						
		Total		Total		Domes- tic	Per- sonal	Total		Manu- factur- ing	Mechan- ical	Trade (sales- women)	Clerical	Profes- sional		
		Num- ber	Per- cent	Num- ber	Per- cent			Num- ber	Per- cent						Num- ber	Per- cent
All fields represented.....	211	177	83.9	34	16.1	30	14.2	28	2	181	85.8	92	3	42	27	17
Bituminous fields in Pennsylvania, West Virginia, Ohio, and Illinois.....	51	33	64.7	18	35.3	16	31.4	16	2	35	68.6	8	3	13	6	8
Anthracite field of Pennsylvania.....	160	144	90.0	16	10.0	14	8.7	12	2	146	91.3	84	3	29	21	9

TABLE 8.—Detail of character of employment of mine workers' daughters, by locality

[From family schedules: Figures taken for one year ended December 31, 1922, in bituminous fields and for six months ended March 31, 1923, in anthracite field]

Locality	Number of gainfully employed daughters	Number of daughters in—													
		Manufacturing					Trade (sales women)	Domestic service		Clerical service		Professional service		Tele- phone operat- ing	Power laun- dry, sewing, milli- nery at home
		Total	Silk goods	Other textile material and cloth- ing	Glass and lamps	All other		Day- work in homes	Hotel and res- taurant work	Stenog- raphers	Cash- iers and others	School- teachers	Nurses and other		
Bituminous fields in Pennsylvania, West Vir- ginia, Ohio, and Illinois.....	51	7	4	3	13	16	2	1	3	7	1	2	1		
Anthracite field of Pennsylvania.....	160	83	35	22	2	24	20	12	2	5	11	6	3	5	4

The United States Coal Commission did not separate adult daughters from adult sons in tabulations made from census sheets. In order to ascertain approximately how many adult daughters there were in mine workers' families, the information taken from family schedules (see Table 6) has been used in connection with the figures on normal homes from the census records. There were, for example, 78,185 normal homes in the anthracite field. The schedules from 712 representative anthracite-workers' families²⁰ show that 28.5 per cent had daughters 15 years of age and older at home. Applying this figure to the total number of normal homes would indicate that there was a total of 22,283 families having adult daughters. The family schedules further show that the average number of adult daughters per family was 1.41, so that there would be about 31,419 daughters 15 years of age and over in the families of mine workers maintaining homes in the anthracite region. The family schedules further show that 55.7 per cent of the adult daughters of anthracite workers were employed, indicating that approximately 17,500 girls living under the parental roof of anthracite-mine workers were wage earners. The same method was used to determine the probable number of daughters and employed daughters in the bituminous fields. The validity of the deductions depends, of course, on the representativeness of the families personally visited. The resulting figures shown in Table 9 indicate that there were more than 76,000 daughters 15 years of age and over still living under parental roof in the bituminous fields, as compared with a little over 31,000 in the anthracite field, but that about an equal number of daughters in each field—approximately 17,500—were gainfully employed.

TABLE 9.—*Actual number of mine workers' wives and computed number of all adult women in mine workers' families gainfully employed, by locality*

[From Tables 3 and 6]

Locality	Mine workers' wives			Computed number of adult daughters			Computed number of adult women		
	Total number	Gainfully employed		Total number	Gainfully employed		Total number	Gainfully employed	
		Number	Per cent		Number	Per cent		Number	Per cent
All fields.....	376, 550	67, 467	17. 9	107, 636	35, 103	32. 6	484, 186	102, 573	21. 2
Bituminous fields.....	298, 365	50, 924	17. 1	76, 217	17, 606	23. 1	374, 582	68, 530	18. 3
Anthracite field.....	78, 185	16, 543	21. 2	31, 419	17, 500	55. 7	109, 604	34, 043	31. 1

²⁰ For method of selecting families, see pp. 2-3.

CONTRIBUTIONS MADE BY WOMEN TO FAMILY INCOME

Combining figures on the actual number of wives at work with the estimated number of daughters at work gives a total of more than 100,000 women breadwinners in mine workers' families. This is about one-fifth of all wives and daughters living in the family circle. In the anthracite region about 23 in every 100 adult women in the families personally visited were adding to the family income, whereas in the bituminous fields the proportion of women who contributed regularly to the support of the family was about 14 in every 100.

The information concerning income secured by visiting mine workers' families was to the effect that 90 per cent of the wage-earning women in the families regularly turned into the family fund all or part of their earnings. As appears in Table 10, the amount so contributed averaged in 1922 about \$28 per month among the women in bituminous-mine families, and for the six months ended April 1, 1924, averaged \$35.74 per month among the women of anthracite workers' families.

TABLE 10.—*Number of gainfully employed wives and daughters and their contribution to the family fund, by locality*

[From family schedules: Figures taken for one year ended December 31, 1922, in bituminous fields and for six months ended March 31, 1923, in anthracite field]

Locality	Number of families visited	Wives and daughters	Women gainfully employed	Number of gainfully employed women contributing to the family fund				
				Regularly			Irregularly or not at all	
				Number	Per cent	Average monthly contribution	Number	Per cent
All fields represented	1,578	2,069	427	¹ 335	90.2	\$32.64	42	9.8
Bituminous fields in Pennsylvania, West Virginia, Ohio, and Illinois.....	866	1,082	171	¹ 155	90.6	27.97	16	9.4
Anthracite field of Pennsylvania.....	712	957	256	230	89.8	35.74	26	10.2

¹ Two women did not receive money for services because boarders paid for board and lodging in foodstuffs.

The breadwinning wives of the mine families studied gave all their earnings for the support of the families, so that the earnings of the wives shown in Table 4 represent also their contributions to the family income. In the bituminous fields in 1922 the wives' earnings represented 25 per cent of the yearly income of the families studied; in the anthracite field for the six months covered by the field survey, they formed less than 20 per cent of the family income.²¹

²¹ U. S. Coal Commission. Report on cost of living and family budgets among coal-mine workers' families. In press.

Table 11 shows that not only was the employment of young daughters materially less in the bituminous regions but the amount of the monthly contribution made by the girls giving regularly to the family support was only half as much as in the anthracite field. This is due in part to the smaller proportion who turned over all their earnings to the family purse, in part to the character of employment, and in part to its irregularity during the year. While about 83 in every 100 daughters in the anthracite-mining families contributed an average of \$35.04 per month to their families—three-fourths turning their entire pay envelope over to the family fund—69 in every 100 gainfully employed daughters in the bituminous fields added a monthly average of but \$17.17 to the family support. Not much more than one-half of the daughters in the families visited in the bituminous region contributed all their earnings to the family. Whereas, therefore, the proportions which wives and daughters in the anthracite-mine homes contributed to the family fund were substantially the same, in the bituminous-mine homes visited the contributions of the daughters constituted but 15 per cent of the family income as compared with 25 per cent contributed by the gainfully employed wives. These wives and daughters were not necessarily in the same families, of course, in either region.

TABLE 11.—*Number of gainfully employed daughters and their contribution to the family fund, by locality*

[From family schedules: Figures taken for one year ended December 31, 1922, in bituminous fields and for six months ended March 31, 1923, in the anthracite field]

Locality	Adult daughters			Gainfully employed daughters contributing to the family fund						
	Total number	Gainfully employed		Regularly					Irregularly or not at all	
		Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Average monthly contribution	Number contributing		Number	Per cent
							Entire earnings	Part earnings		
All fields represented.....	508	211	41.5	169	80.1	\$31.34	120	49	42	19.9
Bituminous fields in Pennsylvania, West Virginia, Ohio, and Illinois.....	221	51	23.1	35	68.6	17.17	19	16	16	31.4
Anthracite field of Pennsylvania.....	287	160	55.7	134	83.8	35.04	101	53	26	16.2

HOUSEHOLD DUTIES OF MINE WORKERS' WIVES

Although the earnings of a mine worker's wife are a material contribution to the support of the family, in the coal regions, as elsewhere, a wife's great service is the care she gives to husband and children within the home. As stated previously, there were 376,550 women maintaining homes in the mining regions studied. The tabulations of family data upon which were based the following tables showing numbers in the household and ownership of homes included all the mine workers' homes regardless of whether the family was presided over by the mother; that is, the homes in both anthracite and bituminous regions presided over by single men, widowers, or men whose wives were absent were included in the commission's tabulations. The influence of this inclusion has been obviated to some extent by the elimination from the figures in Tables 12 and 13 of the approximately 9,000 men—2 per cent of all—maintaining homes for themselves. The remaining 6 per cent of homes without wives is too small to affect materially the conditions revealed by the 94 per cent which were normal homes.

Some 45 of every 100 wives in the mining regions had households numbering 4, 5, or 6 persons; more than 25 in 100 had from 7 to 11 or more persons for whom to cook and clean and launder. The size of households, as shown in Table 12 following, was noticeably larger in the anthracite region than in the bituminous. In the bituminous fields, 48 in every 100 households had less than 5 persons, as compared with 37 per 100 in the anthracite field; among the anthracite workers, almost 33 in every 100 wives as compared with less than 24 per 100 in the bituminous fields had 7 or more persons to care for. This difference in the size of households was undoubtedly due to the larger number of foreign born in the anthracite field. As Table 13 makes clear, the larger households in all fields were among the foreign born. While 35.5 per cent of the foreign born had households numbering from 7 to more than 11 persons, only 19.7 per cent of the native white women, and but 13.9 per cent of the negro women had this number of people in their care. One-half of the homes of negro women had less than 4 members and about a third of the native white homes were so reported, whereas less than a fifth of the homes of the foreign born fell into this category.

TABLE 12.—Number of persons in mine workers' households, by locality

Locality	Number of mine workers' households having 2 or more persons present	Mine workers having households consisting of—									
		Two persons		Three persons		Four persons		Five persons		Six persons	
		Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent
All States.....	492,724	52,027	12.9	65,077	16.2	68,559	17.0	62,339	15.5	51,725	12.8
Bituminous-mining regions, total.....	319,236	44,563	14.0	54,231	17.0	55,578	17.4	49,161	15.4	39,864	12.5
Pennsylvania.....	92,238	9,528	10.3	12,634	13.7	14,063	15.2	14,165	15.4	12,699	13.8
West Virginia.....	32,762	8,325	15.8	9,138	17.3	8,920	16.9	7,665	14.5	6,236	11.8
Illinois.....	51,543	7,454	14.5	9,770	19.0	10,094	19.6	8,358	16.2	6,344	12.3
Ohio.....	30,276	4,315	14.3	5,244	17.3	5,350	17.7	4,775	15.8	3,738	12.4
Kentucky.....	27,754	4,515	16.3	5,407	19.5	5,044	18.2	4,202	15.1	3,250	11.7
Indiana.....	16,225	2,619	16.1	3,215	19.8	3,383	20.9	2,625	16.2	1,856	11.4
Iowa.....	8,174	1,329	16.3	1,498	18.3	1,555	19.0	1,217	14.9	978	12.0
Alabama.....	5,023	1,697	21.2	1,687	20.7	1,363	17.0	1,048	13.1	793	9.9
Tennessee.....	7,694	1,022	13.3	1,279	16.6	1,334	17.3	1,206	15.7	1,017	13.2
Virginia.....	6,494	931	14.3	1,132	17.4	1,103	17.0	997	15.4	837	12.9
Missouri.....	5,766	1,018	18.2	1,191	20.7	1,083	18.8	888	15.4	614	10.6
Oklahoma.....	5,222	846	16.2	931	17.8	997	19.1	898	17.2	625	12.0
Maryland.....	3,355	356	10.6	353	16.5	626	18.7	540	16.1	446	13.3
Michigan.....	1,233	153	12.2	185	14.8	197	15.7	188	15.0	166	13.2
Western States.....	2,458	425	17.3	447	18.2	466	19.0	389	15.8	245	10.0
Anthracite-mining region of Pennsylvania.....	83,493	7,464	8.9	10,796	12.9	12,931	15.5	13,173	15.8	11,861	14.2

Locality	Mine workers having households consisting of—									
	Seven persons		Eight persons		Nine persons		Ten persons		Eleven or more persons	
	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent
All States.....	39,778	9.9	27,731	6.9	17,193	4.3	9,822	2.4	8,473	2.1
Bituminous-mining regions, total.....	29,749	9.3	20,384	6.4	12,544	3.9	7,033	2.2	6,079	1.9
Pennsylvania.....	10,638	11.5	7,661	8.3	5,116	5.5	3,065	3.3	2,669	2.9
West Virginia.....	4,648	8.8	3,378	6.4	2,056	3.9	1,175	2.2	1,221	2.3
Illinois.....	4,176	8.1	2,328	4.9	1,469	2.9	759	1.5	591	1.1
Ohio.....	2,807	9.3	1,883	6.2	1,115	3.7	585	1.9	444	1.5
Kentucky.....	2,258	8.1	1,409	5.0	842	3.0	434	1.6	401	1.4
Indiana.....	1,114	6.9	720	4.4	370	2.3	183	1.2	134	.8
Iowa.....	646	7.9	457	5.6	253	3.1	133	1.6	108	1.3
Alabama.....	593	7.4	431	5.4	230	2.9	125	1.6	86	1.1
Tennessee.....	782	9.8	554	7.2	279	3.6	152	2.0	99	1.3
Virginia.....	593	9.1	390	6.0	255	3.9	142	2.2	114	1.8
Missouri.....	420	7.3	268	4.6	152	2.6	69	1.2	33	.6
Oklahoma.....	435	8.3	249	4.8	145	2.8	58	1.1	38	.7
Maryland.....	320	9.5	230	6.9	138	4.1	80	2.4	65	2.0
Michigan.....	140	11.2	111	8.9	56	4.5	30	2.4	27	2.2
Western States.....	209	8.5	124	5.0	68	2.8	37	1.5	48	2.0
Anthracite-mining region of Pennsylvania.....	10,029	12.0	7,347	8.8	4,649	5.6	2,789	3.3	2,394	2.9

TABLE 13.—Number of persons in mine workers' households, by general nativity of mine worker

General nativity of mine worker	Number of mine workers' households having 2 or more persons present	Mine workers having households consisting of—									
		Two persons	Three persons	Four persons	Five persons	Six persons	Seven persons	Eight persons	Nine persons	Ten persons	Eleven or more persons
Total: Number.....	402,724	52,027	65,077	68,559	62,339	51,725	39,778	27,731	17,193	9,822	8,473
Per cent.....	100.0	12.9	16.2	17.0	15.5	12.8	9.9	6.9	4.3	2.4	2.1
Native, white:											
Number.....	221,078	31,591	42,164	42,283	34,945	26,207	18,442	11,961	6,887	3,627	2,971
Per cent.....	100.0	14.3	19.1	19.1	15.8	11.9	8.3	5.4	3.1	1.6	1.3
Native, negro:											
Number.....	24,781	6,799	5,689	4,053	2,809	2,006	1,351	870	567	292	345
Per cent.....	100.0	27.4	23.0	16.4	11.3	8.1	5.5	3.5	2.3	1.2	1.4
Foreign born:											
Number.....	156,865	13,637	17,224	22,223	24,585	23,512	19,985	14,900	9,739	5,903	5,157
Per cent.....	100.0	8.7	11.0	14.2	15.7	15.0	12.7	9.5	6.2	3.8	3.3

Table 14 reveals to what extent the variation in size of households cared for by mine workers' wives is due to differences in the number of children under the parental roof. One in 3 (33.3 per cent) of the negro homes were without children, in contrast to one in about 8 (12 per cent) of the native white homes and one in 13 or 14 (7.4 per cent) of the homes of the foreign born. Practically 30 per cent of the homes of foreign-born workers had 5 or more children, as compared with 17.9 per cent and 10.7 per cent, respectively, of the native white and native negro. The small number of persons in negro households was undoubtedly due to this condition of relatively few children under the parental roof, for, as shown by Table 5, the proportion of homes in which the wife was employed, chiefly by taking boarders, was larger among the negroes than among the foreign-born mining population.

In the mining communities as a whole there were approximately 508,000 children whose fathers were born abroad. The largest group of these were of Polish parentage, followed closely by children of Italians. There were about 39,000 negro children and more than 543,000 children whose fathers were native white. Thus the native white, maintaining, with wives present, more than 54 per cent of the homes, had less than 50 per cent of the children; the foreign born, maintaining approximately 40 per cent of the homes, had about 47 per cent of the children; while in the native negro homes, which constituted about 6 per cent of all the mine workers' homes, there were less than 4 per cent of the children.

TABLE 14.—Number of children in mine workers' families, by country of birth of mine worker

Country of birth of mine worker	Mine workers main- taining homes with wives present	Mine workers reported as having—							
		No children		One child		Two children		Three children	
		Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent
All countries.....	376, 550	43, 140	11. 5	69, 548	18. 5	70, 641	18. 8	61, 275	16. 3
United States, white.....	205, 587	24, 789	12. 0	44, 839	21. 8	42, 423	20. 6	32, 861	16. 0
United States, negro.....	22, 301	7, 432	33. 3	5, 484	24. 6	3, 304	14. 8	2, 209	9. 9
Foreign countries, total.....	148, 682	10, 939	7. 4	19, 225	12. 9	24, 914	16. 8	26, 205	17. 6
Poland.....	30, 976	1, 635	5. 3	3, 272	10. 6	4, 777	15. 4	5, 496	17. 7
Italy.....	25, 063	1, 684	6. 7	3, 136	12. 5	4, 430	17. 7	4, 618	18. 4
Austria.....	19, 828	1, 221	6. 2	2, 131	10. 7	2, 973	15. 0	3, 358	16. 9
Russia.....	16, 741	877	5. 2	2, 136	12. 8	3, 199	19. 1	3, 377	20. 2
British Isles.....	15, 706	1, 818	10. 9	3, 229	19. 3	3, 118	18. 7	2, 670	16. 0
Czechoslovakia.....	13, 817	859	6. 2	1, 392	10. 1	2, 037	14. 7	2, 413	17. 5
Hungary.....	8, 623	784	9. 1	1, 056	12. 2	1, 415	16. 4	1, 541	17. 9
Germany.....	5, 111	509	10. 0	896	17. 5	871	17. 0	764	14. 9
Yugoslavia.....	4, 757	292	6. 1	658	13. 8	729	15. 3	859	18. 1
All other.....	7, 090	1, 260	17. 8	1, 319	18. 7	1, 365	19. 3	1, 109	15. 7

Country of birth of mine worker	Mine workers reported as having—									
	Four children		Five children		Six children		Seven children		Eight or more children	
	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent
All countries.....	48, 508	12. 9	35, 309	9. 4	23, 276	6. 2	13, 346	3. 5	11, 507	3. 1
United States, white.....	23, 897	11. 6	16, 281	7. 9	10, 236	5. 0	5, 682	2. 8	4, 619	2. 2
United States, negro.....	1, 595	6. 8	1, 008	4. 5	597	2. 7	392	1. 8	369	1. 7
Foreign countries, total.....	23, 105	15. 5	18, 040	12. 1	12, 443	8. 4	7, 292	4. 9	6, 519	4. 4
Poland.....	5, 142	16. 6	4, 165	13. 4	3, 059	9. 9	1, 765	5. 7	1, 665	5. 4
Italy.....	4, 019	16. 0	3, 030	12. 1	1, 979	7. 9	1, 183	4. 7	984	3. 9
Austria.....	3, 201	16. 1	2, 678	13. 5	1, 916	9. 7	1, 216	6. 1	1, 136	5. 7
Russia.....	2, 705	16. 2	1, 967	11. 7	1, 315	7. 9	654	3. 9	511	3. 1
British Isles.....	2, 101	12. 6	1, 570	9. 4	1, 023	6. 1	604	3. 6	573	3. 4
Czechoslovakia.....	2, 285	16. 5	1, 931	14. 0	1, 337	9. 7	834	6. 0	728	5. 3
Hungary.....	1, 411	16. 4	1, 031	12. 0	689	8. 0	384	4. 5	312	3. 6
Germany.....	669	13. 1	554	10. 8	371	7. 3	223	4. 4	254	5. 0
Yugoslavia.....	795	16. 7	583	12. 3	425	8. 9	228	4. 8	188	4. 0
All other.....	776	11. 0	533	7. 5	329	4. 7	201	2. 8	168	2. 4

A large proportion of the women with children had little folk under 7 years of age at home. Two-thirds of the women with native white husbands and practically three-fourths of those with foreign-born husbands had young children demanding their care during the entire day. Slightly more than seven-tenths of the negro mothers had children under 7 years of age at home. In general, families with children of school age were numerous also, for 60.1 per cent had children from 7 to 16 years of age at school, 5.4 per cent had children of this age group at home, and 4.2 per cent had such children already at work.

The percentage of families having children under 16 years of age at work was largest among the foreign group, there being little difference in the relative number of negro and native white families having children at work. So, too, the proportion of families having children at work who were 16 years of age and over was greatest among the foreign-born workers. It is interesting to note in Table 15 that the proportion of mine workers having children at school who were at least 16 years of age was considerably larger among the negroes than among the native white or foreign mining groups.

TABLE 15.—*Mine workers having children at school, at home, and at work, by general nativity of mine worker*

General nativity of mine worker	Mine workers having children in family	Mine workers having children under 7 years—		Mine workers having children of 7 and under 16 years—				Mine workers having children of 16 years and over—		
		At school	At home	At school	At home	At work	Not reported	At school	At home	At work
Total: Number.....	133,410	48,266	233,927	200,396	17,908	13,908	9,404	14,156	37,121	77,321
Per cent.....	100.0	14.5	70.2	60.1	5.4	4.2	2.8	4.2	11.1	23.2
Native, white: Number.....	180,798	20,707	121,183	109,345	9,620	5,034	3,943	8,691	19,058	36,942
Per cent.....	100.0	11.5	67.0	55.5	5.3	2.8	2.2	4.8	10.5	20.4
Native, negro: Number.....	14,869	1,928	10,630	9,893	1,023	451	441	1,006	1,924	3,221
Per cent.....	100.0	13.0	71.5	66.5	6.9	3.0	3.0	6.8	12.9	21.7
Foreign born: Number.....	137,743	25,631	102,114	90,158	7,265	8,423	5,020	4,459	16,139	37,158
Per cent.....	100.0	18.6	74.1	65.5	5.3	6.1	3.6	3.2	11.7	27.0

¹ Details aggregate more than total, as some families appear in more than one group.

The only marked difference in the status of children between the anthracite and the bituminous fields was in the groups at work. About 9 per cent of the anthracite-mine workers as compared with approximately 3 per cent in the bituminous regions had children under 16 years of age at work; and about 31 per cent of the anthracite-mine workers as against 21 per cent in the bituminous fields had children 16 years of age and older at work. The regions in which the smallest proportions of mine workers' families had children 16 years of age and over at work were the sparsely populated sections of Virginia, Kentucky, West Virginia, Oklahoma, Alabama, and Tennessee.

Table 16 offers additional evidence to confirm indications that the lack of opportunity for employment in many of the coal-mining regions causes daughters and sons to leave home in search of employment in more developed centers of population, for the sections of the coal fields showing the smallest proportions of families with children 16 years of age and older at work had no larger groups of children at school or at home than occurred in other mining regions.

Another fact of social significance shown in Table 16 is that the mining regions of Virginia and Kentucky had a relatively small pro-

portion of families with children between 7 and 16 years of age at school and a relatively large proportion with children of these ages at home. In the Indiana and Michigan mining regions the opposite situation prevailed, for here there were unusually large proportions of families with children of 7 to 16 at school and small proportions at home.

TABLE 16.—*Mine workers having children at school, at home, and at work, by locality*

Locality	Mine workers having children in family	Mine workers having children of under 7 years—		Mine workers having children of 7 and under 16 years—				Mine workers having children of 16 years and over—			
		At school	At home	At school	At home	At work	Not reported	At school	At home	At work	
All States:	Number	333,410	48,268	293,927	200,396	17,908	13,908	9,404	14,156	37,121	77,321
	Per cent.	100.0	14.5	70.2	60.1	5.4	4.2	2.8	4.2	11.1	23.2
Bituminous-mining regions	Total:	260,512	37,135	184,185	155,344	14,871	7,205	7,032	11,793	30,812	54,778
	Per cent.	100.0	14.3	70.7	59.6	5.7	2.8	2.7	4.5	11.8	21.0
Pennsylvania	Number	79,159	11,041	60,467	49,119	4,467	2,212	2,616	2,476	12,194	17,744
	Per cent.	100.0	13.9	76.4	62.1	5.6	2.8	3.3	3.1	15.4	22.4
West Virginia	Number	40,963	4,232	30,795	22,132	2,685	2,102	1,114	1,846	4,028	6,560
	Per cent.	100.0	10.3	75.2	54.0	6.6	5.1	2.7	4.5	9.8	16.0
Illinois	Number	42,274	5,782	26,394	25,884	1,401	948	1,274	1,931	4,163	10,459
	Per cent.	100.0	13.7	62.4	61.2	3.5	2.2	3.0	4.6	9.8	24.7
Ohio	Number	24,823	3,730	16,937	14,964	1,024	428	418	1,224	2,886	6,500
	Per cent.	100.0	15.0	68.2	60.3	4.1	1.7	1.7	4.9	11.6	26.2
Kentucky	Number	21,766	5,912	16,265	11,301	2,102	384	605	898	2,148	3,308
	Per cent.	100.0	27.2	74.7	51.9	9.7	1.8	2.8	4.1	9.9	15.2
Indiana	Number	13,049	1,723	7,613	9,304	420	326	298	649	1,368	2,418
	Per cent.	100.0	13.2	58.3	71.3	3.2	2.5	2.3	5.0	10.5	18.5
Iowa	Number	6,515	1,445	3,743	4,003	211	126	106	447	627	1,746
	Per cent.	100.0	22.2	57.5	61.4	3.2	1.9	1.6	6.9	9.6	26.8
Alabama	Number	5,748	308	3,817	3,413	374	101	172	367	577	1,015
	Per cent.	100.0	5.4	66.4	59.4	6.5	1.8	3.0	6.4	10.0	17.7
Tennessee	Number	6,435	746	4,888	3,789	627	172	57	377	712	1,126
	Per cent.	100.0	11.6	76.0	58.9	9.7	2.7	.9	5.9	11.1	17.5
Virginia	Number	5,295	399	4,210	2,657	987	84	19	225	570	682
	Per cent.	100.0	7.5	79.5	50.2	18.6	1.6	.4	4.2	10.8	12.9
Missouri	Number	4,415	568	2,586	2,660	138	94	195	316	547	1,016
	Per cent.	100.0	12.8	58.2	59.8	3.1	2.1	4.4	7.1	12.3	22.9
Oklahoma	Number	4,178	585	2,638	2,523	156	68	76	309	399	676
	Per cent.	100.0	14.0	63.1	60.4	3.7	1.6	1.8	7.4	9.6	16.2
Maryland	Number	2,902	260	1,941	1,738	123	107	1	172	367	804
	Per cent.	100.0	9.0	66.9	59.9	4.2	3.7	(1)	5.9	12.6	27.7
Michigan	Number	1,046	167	657	742	38	35	-----	448	63	307
	Per cent.	100.0	16.0	62.8	70.9	3.6	3.3	-----	42.8	6.0	29.3
Western States	Number	1,914	237	1,234	1,115	58	18	81	108	163	417
	Per cent.	100.0	12.4	64.5	58.3	3.0	.9	4.2	5.6	8.5	21.8
Anthracite-mining region of Pennsylvania	Number	72,898	11,131	49,742	45,052	3,037	6,703	2,372	2,363	6,309	22,543
	Per cent.	100.0	15.3	68.2	61.8	4.2	9.2	3.3	3.2	8.7	30.9

¹ Less than one-tenth of 1 per cent.

HOME OWNERSHIP

In connection with the foregoing facts it is important to consider the matter of home ownership in the several States as revealed in Table 17. In Michigan a larger proportion of mine homes were owned by the workers than in any other State. Indiana also shows relatively many homes owned by the workers. In West Virginia, Virginia, Alabama, Kentucky, and Tennessee less than one-fourth

of the mine workers, and in four of these States even less than one-fifth, owned the houses in which they lived. This apparent relation between the ownership of homes and the larger number of older children living in the home may be a coincidence rather than a causal relation, but it is at least suggestive.

TABLE 17.—*Mine workers' homes maintained in owned and in rented houses, by locality*

Locality	Number of homes maintained	Houses owned								Houses rented		Not reported	
		Total		Free		Mortgaged		Not reported		Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent
		Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent				
All States	411,482	127,384	31.0	87,553	21.5	36,281	8.8	3,550	0.9	274,298	66.7	9,800	2.4
Bituminous-mining regions, total	327,605	100,242	30.6	70,059	21.4	27,199	8.3	2,984	0.9	219,111	66.9	8,252	2.5
Pennsylvania.....	94,322	27,108	28.7	21,021	22.3	5,512	5.8	575	.6	65,298	69.2	1,916	2.0
West Virginia.....	54,753	6,769	12.4	5,061	9.3	1,255	2.3	433	.8	46,442	84.8	1,542	2.8
Illinois.....	52,947	26,336	49.7	15,773	29.8	9,436	17.8	1,127	2.1	25,579	48.3	1,032	1.9
Ohio.....	31,089	12,548	40.4	9,018	29.0	3,232	10.4	298	1.0	17,585	56.6	956	3.1
Kentucky.....	28,065	4,761	17.0	3,995	14.2	691	2.5	75	.3	22,537	80.3	767	2.7
Indiana.....	16,526	7,831	47.4	4,122	24.9	3,624	21.9	85	.5	8,387	50.8	308	1.9
Iowa.....	8,524	3,254	38.2	2,087	24.5	1,077	12.6	90	1.1	4,839	56.8	431	5.1
Alabama.....	6,257	1,340	16.2	971	11.8	292	3.5	77	.9	6,744	81.7	173	2.1
Tennessee.....	7,749	1,858	24.0	1,653	21.3	180	2.3	25	.3	5,633	72.7	258	3.3
Virginia.....	6,556	908	13.8	808	12.3	76	1.2	24	.4	5,427	82.8	221	3.4
Missouri.....	5,996	2,414	40.3	1,498	25.0	873	14.6	43	.7	3,371	56.2	211	3.5
Oklahoma.....	5,511	2,282	41.4	1,910	34.7	290	5.3	82	1.5	2,973	53.9	256	4.6
Maryland.....	3,410	1,001	29.4	785	23.0	188	5.5	28	.8	2,315	67.9	94	2.8
Michigan.....	1,273	874	68.7	542	42.6	328	25.8	4	.3	379	29.8	20	1.6
Western States.....	2,627	958	36.5	795	30.3	145	5.5	18	.7	1,602	61.0	67	2.6
Anthracite-mining region of Pennsylvania	83,877	27,142	32.4	17,494	20.9	9,082	10.8	568	0.7	55,187	65.8	1,548	1.8

TABLE 18.—*Mine workers' homes maintained in owned and in rented houses, by country of birth of mine worker*

Country of birth of mine worker	Number of homes maintained	Houses owned								Houses rented		Not reported	
		Total		Free		Mortgaged		Not reported		Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent
		Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent				
All countries	411,482	127,384	31.0	87,553	21.5	36,281	8.8	3,550	0.9	274,298	66.7	9,800	2.4
United States, white	223,950	68,896	30.8	46,790	20.9	20,168	9.0	1,838	0.9	149,656	66.8	5,399	2.4
United States, negro	26,411	3,390	12.8	2,227	8.4	1,068	4.0	95	.4	22,242	84.2	779	2.9
Foreign countries, total	161,121	55,096	34.2	38,536	23.9	16,045	9.3	1,517	.9	102,401	63.6	3,622	2.2
Poland.....	32,624	9,630	29.5	6,079	18.6	3,282	10.1	269	.8	22,247	68.2	747	2.3
Italy.....	27,447	9,316	33.9	6,648	24.2	2,339	8.5	329	1.2	17,439	63.5	692	2.5
Austria.....	21,404	6,535	30.5	4,821	22.5	1,547	7.2	167	.8	14,346	67.0	523	2.4
British Isles.....	18,675	8,621	46.2	6,183	33.1	2,270	12.2	169	.9	9,736	52.1	318	1.7
Russia.....	17,920	5,799	32.4	3,785	21.1	1,815	10.1	199	1.1	11,768	66.7	353	2.0
Czechoslovakia.....	14,615	4,750	32.5	3,546	24.3	1,064	7.3	140	1.0	9,575	65.5	290	2.0
Hungary.....	9,383	1,918	20.4	1,365	14.5	505	5.4	48	.5	7,243	77.2	222	2.4
Germany.....	5,720	3,299	57.7	2,330	40.7	918	16.0	51	.9	2,312	40.4	109	1.9
Yugoslavia.....	5,451	1,717	31.5	1,187	21.8	480	8.8	50	.9	3,675	65.6	159	2.9
All others.....	7,882	3,513	44.6	2,592	32.9	825	10.5	96	1.2	4,160	52.8	209	2.7

Although conditions among the families of mine workers from the British Isles and from Germany were similar to those among native whites in respect to number of children in the family and numbers of breadwinning wives and children, the tendency towards home ownership was far less marked among the native born than the British and the German groups, these reporting 46.2 per cent and 57.7 per cent, respectively, as owning the houses in which they lived. The next largest group was found among the Italians, of whom 34 per cent owned their homes. Only 31 per cent of the native white mine workers were buying or had bought the homes in which they lived.

Unlike normal communities, the question of home ownership among the different nationalities in many mining communities was not primarily a matter of race thrift or racial desire for acquiring property. In many pioneer communities there was no chance whatsoever for home ownership because the land, the houses, and all the facilities necessary for maintaining the home were owned or controlled by mining companies. As already stated, about three-fourths of the bituminous-mine workers lived in places of less than 2,500 population and about one-half were housed in company dwellings. The need for company-owned dwellings and their consequent existence varied greatly from State to State. In the southern Appalachian Mountains, where coal mines were located in sections undeveloped and far from normal settlement the proportion of workers living in company houses, and consequently in rented houses, was large. Seventy-nine per cent of the mine workers' wives in West Virginia were obliged to care for houses which the companies owned. In the mountains of Virginia, Maryland, eastern Kentucky, and Tennessee, almost two-thirds found it necessary to dwell in company-owned houses. In Indiana and Illinois, on the other hand, agricultural and industrial towns had been developed before coal-mining began, self-governing communities were numerous, and transportation facilities were abundant, so that only 8.5 per cent of the mine workers in these States were housed in company-owned property. Pennsylvania bituminous regions with their exceptionally large contingent of foreign born stand between these extremes.

On the other hand, less than 10 per cent of the anthracite-mine workers of Pennsylvania lived in company-owned dwellings. The large cities, accessible by the network of electric and steam railways throughout the region, offer abundant opportunity for home ownership or rental of private homes and leave but little need for the company-controlled house.

TABLE 19.—*Company ownership of mine workers' dwellings, by locality*

Locality	Number of mine workers employed by operators reporting concerning home ownership	Mine workers housed in company-owned family dwellings	
		Number	Per cent
All States.....	606, 782	236, 756	39. 0
Bituminous-mining regions, total.....	447, 183	221, 370	49. 5
Pennsylvania.....	120, 507	61, 118	50. 7
West Virginia.....	93, 490	73, 652	78. 8
Ohio.....	29, 228	7, 106	24. 3
Alabama.....	23, 762	15, 661	65. 9
Illinois and Indiana.....	71, 659	6, 092	8. 5
Maryland, Virginia, Kentucky, and Tennessee.....	51, 099	32, 899	64. 4
Kansas, Missouri, and Iowa.....	18, 301	3, 381	18. 5
Colorado, Montana, North Dakota, Oklahoma, Arkansas, Texas, Utah, Mexico, Washington, and Wyoming.....	39, 137	21, 361	54. 6
Anthracite-mining region of Pennsylvania.....	159, 599	15, 488	9. 7

A little over 30 per cent of the 15,486 anthracite-mine workers living in company-owned houses were in towns of 2,500 population or more, and 25.3 per cent additional lived less than 2 miles distant from towns or cities. In the bituminous regions, on the other hand, in the case of 44 per cent of the mine workers' homes the nearest town was a place of less than 1,000 population, and only about one-eighth of the homes were within 2 miles of even such a place as that. Where new roads had been built, the advent of the automobile was doing much to relieve the complete isolation of such sections, but where the roads still were mountain paths or creek beds the isolation was fairly complete.

TABLE 20.—Location of company-controlled communities with reference to independent communities and employment opportunities

COMPANY-CONTROLLED COMMUNITIES IN THE BITUMINOUS FIELDS

Population of nearest town	Number of company-controlled communities reported	Mine workers concerned		Communities whose distance from towns of specified population was—											
				Less than 2 miles			2 and less than 5 miles			5 and less than 10 miles			10 miles or over		
		Number	Per cent	Number of communities	Mine workers		Number of communities	Mine workers		Number of communities	Mine workers		Number of communities	Mine workers	
					Number	Per cent		Number	Per cent		Number	Per cent		Number	Per cent
Total.....	1 708	198, 172	100. 0	232	25, 020	25. 5	224	34, 184	34. 8	142	20, 976	21. 4	110	17, 983	18. 3
Under 1,000.....	343	43, 227	44. 0	127	12, 382	12. 6	104	16, 315	16. 6	53	7, 526	7. 7	59	7, 004	7. 1
1,000 and under 2,500.....	213	30, 114	30. 7	70	7, 704	7. 8	72	10, 426	10. 6	48	6, 408	6. 5	23	5, 576	5. 7
2,500 and under 10,000.....	113	18, 889	19. 2	21	3, 774	3. 8	33	4, 699	4. 8	38	6, 611	6. 7	21	3, 805	3. 9
10,000 and over.....	39	5, 942	6. 1	14	1, 169	1. 2	15	2, 744	2. 8	3	431	. 4	7	1, 598	1. 6

COMPANY-OWNED DWELLINGS IN THE ANTHRACITE FIELD

Section of anthracite field	Number of company-owned dwellings reported	Mine workers housed		In towns of 2,500 population or over	Distant from towns of 2,500 population									Location not reported				
					Less than 2 miles			2 and less than 5 miles			5 miles or over							
		Number	Per cent	Number of company-owned dwellings	Mine workers housed		Number of company-owned dwellings	Mine workers housed		Number of company-owned dwellings	Mine workers housed		Number of company-owned dwellings	Mine workers housed				
					Number	Per cent		Number	Per cent		Number	Per cent		Number	Per cent			
Total.....	10, 246	15, 486	100. 0	3, 156	4, 686	30. 3	2, 763	3, 912	25. 3	3, 342	5, 247	33. 9	975	1, 565	10. 1	70	76	0. 5
Northern.....	5, 227	4, 890	31. 6	1, 875	2, 897	18. 7	573	572	3. 5	542	869	5. 2	237	330	2. 1
Middle and Southern.....	7, 019	10, 596	68. 4	1, 281	1, 789	11. 6	2, 190	3, 000	19. 8	2, 800	4, 438	28. 7	738	1, 235	8. 0	70	76	. 5

¹ Five communities for which data were not available have been omitted.

FACILITIES FOR THE PERFORMANCE OF HOUSEHOLD DUTIES

From the viewpoint of the mine worker's wife probably no conditions in the mining community are so essential to her comfort as the facilities wherewith to carry on her household duties. Whether or not she is a breadwinner, she has her housekeeping duties, and these are concerned with cooking, cleaning, and laundering, and caring for her children. At every turn, therefore, the need of an adequate supply of water is paramount. And yet women dwelling in a little less than 14 per cent of the company-owned houses in the bituminous fields had running water in the house, not 3 per cent had bathtubs or showers, and only 3 per cent had inside flush toilets. In these company-owned communities, with practically 71,000 dwellings, more than 60,000 of the homemaking and bread-winning wives had to run water from an outside hydrant, or draw or pump it from a well, and carry it in buckets to the house for all household purposes. Nor was a hydrant or well located in each back yard. In one-sixth of the bituminous-mining camps there were from 8 to more than 31 families dependent on one hydrant or well. Only the women with running water in their homes had the exclusive use of a faucet; in only one-sixth of the communities was there a water outlet for the use of two families. For the majority of the wives living in company-owned houses in the bituminous districts the carrying of water formed a material part of the household burdens.

TABLE 21.—Facilities affecting home comfort and the performance of household duties in company-owned dwellings, by locality

Locality	Number of company-controlled communities ¹	Number of family dwellings	Family dwellings equipped with—							
			Electric or gas light		Running water		Bathtub or shower		Inside flush toilet	
			Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent
All States.....	811	80,210	49,154	61.3	17,465	21.8	2,216	2.8	2,861	3.6
Bituminous-mining regions, total.....	713	70,662	46,586	65.9	9,769	13.8	1,699	2.4	2,085	3.0
Pennsylvania.....	97	11,850	4,842	40.9	3,630	30.6	507	4.3	358	3.0
West Virginia.....	402	38,183	30,894	80.9	4,258	11.2	945	2.5	1,500	3.9
Ohio.....	71	3,597	968	26.9	34	.9				
Alabama.....	19	3,834	1,712	44.7	142	3.7				
Illinois and Indiana.....	25	2,343	968	41.3	156	6.7	156	6.7	156	6.7
Kansas, Missouri, and Iowa.....	12	1,160	212	18.3	17	1.5				
Maryland, Virginia, Kentucky, and Tennessee.....	87	9,695	6,990	72.1	1,532	15.8	91	.9	71	.7
Anthracite-mining region of Pennsylvania.....	98	9,548	2,568	26.9	7,696	80.6	517	5.4	776	8.1

¹ Only communities having 25 or more family dwellings are included in this table.
² Of this number 667 failed to report on method of lighting and 837 did not report on water facilities.
³ Of this number 428 did not report on method of lighting.
⁴ Of this number 837 did not report on water facilities.
⁵ Of this number 239 did not report on method of lighting.

TABLE 22.—Number of families dependent on a single water outlet in company-controlled communities, by locality

Locality	Number of company-controlled communities	Number of families concerned	Number of communities having a single water outlet for—				
			Every family	Every 2 families	Every 3 families	Every 4 families	Every 5 families
Bituminous-mining regions, total:							
Number.....	713	99,005	67	119	103	98	81
Per cent.....	100.0	-----	9.4	16.7	14.4	13.7	11.4
Pennsylvania.....	97	18,345	21	20	13	11	5
West Virginia.....	402	54,106	28	72	68	61	53
Ohio.....	71	5,108	3	8	7	17	8
Alabama.....	19	5,246	-----	3	1	1	1
Indiana and Illinois.....	25	2,990	8	7	3	2	3
Kansas, Missouri, and Iowa.....	12	1,400	1	3	1	1	-----
Maryland, Virginia, Tennessee, and Kentucky.....	87	11,810	6	6	10	5	11

Locality	Number of communities having a single water outlet for—						
	Every 6 families	Every 7 families	Every 8 to 10 families	Every 11 to 20 families	Every 21 to 30 families	31 families or more	Not reported
Bituminous-mining regions, total:							
Number.....	80	39	64	44	6	3	9
Per cent.....	11.2	5.5	9.0	6.2	0.8	0.4	1.3
Pennsylvania.....	7	3	8	8	-----	-----	1
West Virginia.....	46	23	33	14	2	1	1
Ohio.....	13	3	5	6	1	-----	-----
Alabama.....	2	1	1	1	-----	1	7
Indiana and Illinois.....	-----	-----	1	1	1	-----	-----
Kansas, Missouri, and Iowa.....	1	1	1	2	1	-----	-----
Maryland, Virginia, Tennessee, and Kentucky.....	11	8	16	12	1	1	-----

How do water conditions in these company-controlled communities compare with those in towns and cities in the bituminous fields where the mine worker is responsible with his fellow citizens for the conditions which prevail? In 43.1 per cent of the independent mining communities in the bituminous fields as compared with 38.8 per cent of company-controlled camps, mine workers' wives were entirely dependent upon a private supply of water. In 14.4 per cent of the independent towns and in 14.9 per cent of the company camps a general, piped system was used by all homes. In 42.5 per cent of the independent towns, as compared with 45.9 per cent of the controlled settlements, both a general, piped system and a private supply were to be found. It would appear, then, that the only advantage which the wives living in the independent places had was that in 42.5 per cent of the towns a public water system was available if they were financially circumstanced and alert to demand that their homes be connected with the water mains. In 45.9 per cent of the camps, which had a piped as well as a hydrant or well supply, whether or not the homes were served by the piped system was dependent upon the will of the coal-mining company.